

# EASTERN WORLD

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*Contents include :*

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POLITICAL SCENE**

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### COVER PICTURE SHOWS:

*A young coolie laying out brush twigs to dry in a Bangkok street (a BOAC picture)*

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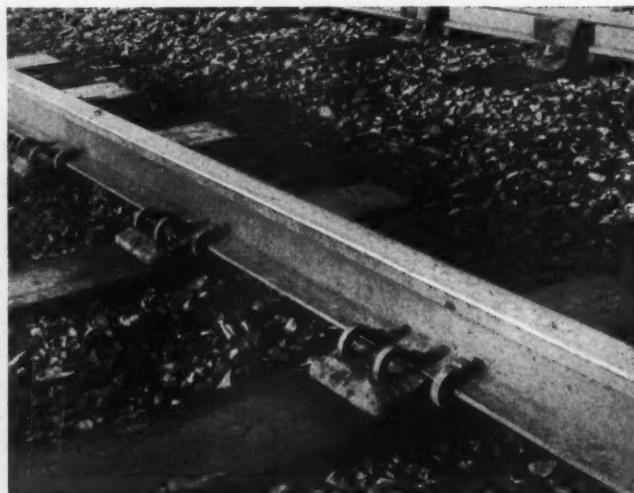


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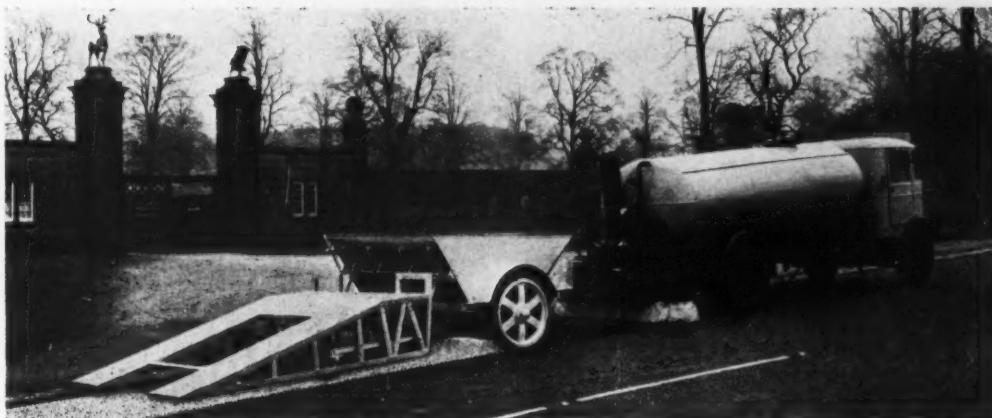


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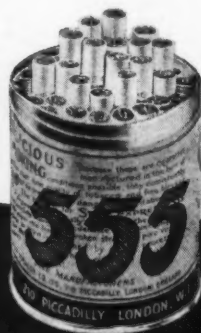
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# EASTERN WORLD

## THE INDO-CHINA PUZZLE

THE war in Indo-China remains the greatest threat to international peace and security at present. However sceptically Ho Chi Minh's suggestions for truce talks may have been regarded, the fact that they remained without reaction from the French Government is unforgivable. There were strong popular demands inside France even before this "peace offer" was made to end this disastrous campaign, but were officially dismissed with a declaration that negotiations cannot be undertaken from a position of inferiority. In other words, if the war is going against you, you don't dare to negotiate, while, when you are victorious, you don't care to negotiate. It will be recalled that in China, Mao Tse-tung called for peace talks with the Kuomintang even as the Red Army advanced on Shanghai. By rejecting his offer, the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek lost the support of those who were opposed to Mao but were weary of war. The same thing is now happening not only in Viet Nam, but also in Paris where even those who are opposed to the Viet Minh are now blaming the French Government for not at least showing their wish for peace by taking the "risk" of entering into negotiations. After all, the risk is even greater in continuing the war. M. Heriot, before resigning the presidency of the National Assembly, stated last month that it was high time to negotiate and that the millions spent on the war in Viet Nam would be better utilised in satisfying the social claims of the workers in France. A very similar attitude is being taken by M. Daladier and a number of other prominent Frenchmen who voice the widespread desire to end the Indo-Chinese adventure. Altogether it seems miraculous that the war is still continuing. According to all reports, the people of Indo-China are sick of war, the people of France do not want it, and their opponents have indicated their desire for peace. Who, then, is so eager to fight? Can it be that US influence keeps military expectations alive?

France's new Commander in Indo-China, General Henri Navarre, is confidently expected by some to accomplish the miracle of "destroying the Viet Minh within a year." But French generals, along with ex-Nazi SS men, have come and gone, without altering the situation. Yet it is not so much General Navarre, but what he brings with him to his new post that is disturbing: an assurance that the United States will provide him with close to a billion dollars a year worth of military supplies, plus a military mission. This may mean napalm bombing and a scorched earth policy as in Korea, and pilots and technicians, followed by troops. If France, with US aid, should crush the Viet Minh, she would advance to the Chinese border as MacArthur did in Korea. Since Peking would then regard France as a mere junior partner of the US, the Chinese would feel themselves threatened by the US, not by the

French. So we might see another Yalu River situation developing again, with Chinese brigades meeting what they would consider a threatened invasion. The next step would, of course, be an attempt to re-create a "United Nations" front, and if the US and her allies would be repulsed in Indo-China, frustration and anger may set off an atomic attack against China. This would mean a war which would again encircle the globe with the speed of lightning, and which nobody in his senses wishes to come about.

But even if these worst eventualities should not come off, there is a real likelihood of a war between France and the US on one side and the Viet Minh and China on the other, which may end in a stalemate. The country, however, would be ravaged far beyond its present damages, casualties would be colossal among troops and civilians alike, and the relations between Asian and non-Asian countries would be severed for generations.

The latest military developments have shown that the Viet Minh forces are stronger and better supplied than ever. Despite occasional well publicised and sensationalised French triumphs, the Viet Minh hold the strategic initiative. In fact, the battle is so constituted that its fluidity gives the Viet Minh advantages the French do not possess. They now occupy most of Viet Nam and, contrary to wishful-thinking-reporting, have much latent support in Laos and Cambodia.

If the French show no willingness to negotiate for peace, they will lose more prestige than they would through a dozen of military defeats, and Viet Minh propaganda will be far more successful than ever. The change of Government, enforced by Emperor Bao Dai, has already been a great diplomatic setback for the French. It appears that ex-Prime Minister Nguyen Van Tam was forced to resign because he wanted to negotiate a new treaty with Paris on the basis of France's offer of greater independence for Viet Nam. Such a treaty would have satisfied substantial nationalist sections in Indo-China, but would possibly have lessened Bao Dai's influence and eventually reduced the likelihood of large-scale fighting.

The war is now in its eighth year, and cannot go on for ever. The moment has arrived where it ceases to remain a local conflict, and the danger of international entanglement is imminent. There is still a chance of negotiation. If France does not act quickly, she will be responsible for a situation in which she has nothing to gain, but everything to lose. If she withdraws today, she may forego some US help which in any case is fully earmarked for her military needs in Viet Nam, but her friendly relations with some part of Asia may still be saved. All that the Vietnamese people want is absolute and unconditional independence. This would strengthen the anti-communist front more than the present fighting, as Ho Chi Minh's main support comes from non-communist, or at least non-party nationalists. Only when complete independence has been achieved can there be any hope of peace in Indo-China.



# WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

**R**ECENTLY I was fascinated by a cheap-jack doing a roaring trade selling slices of the mysterious root, the mandrake. Here, once again, the ancient cure-all was being sold in the streets of our modern cities. Despite our range of technical knowledge, despite our science, we still find believers in the power of the mandrake. In his tortuous path from savagery to the ultra mass-killing of the modern cobalt bomb, man has still a sneaking belief that he is to be saved from the consequences of his own folly by the occult. Thus, too, it seemed to be in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister was to give us an account of the Bermuda Conference. All that we learned was that the object of the Bermuda Conference was to nourish Anglo-American friendship. The real issues of Bermuda are still hidden from the House. Indeed, as Mr. Attlee said: "I really cannot think that he has taken us much beyond the communiqué. I thought that it was a very agreeable and a very seasonable speech; but he was, in effect, a Father Christmas without any presents." While all of us agree that it is essential to nourish Anglo-American friendship, many of us here feel that a great disservice may be done to that cause by glossing over the vital differences that are between us in our approaches to China and other problems in the Far East.

The House was taken by surprise when Sir Winston resumed his seat so suddenly. He sat down and the Commons were silent. There was no applause. We were told that a great deal of the time of the Bermuda Conference was devoted to the difficulties of the Far East and South-East Asia. But the way in which the Prime Minister quickly brushed aside these vital problems seems to indicate that the differences of approach still exist. These were the Premier's words: "As was to be expected, much of our time was devoted to the discussion of current difficulties in the Far East and South-East Asia. It is no secret that in this part of the world there has been some divergence of policy between the Western Powers. We discussed such questions as trade with China, recognition of the Chinese Communist Government, the admission of China to the United Nations, Korean problems and even such awkward personalities as Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek." Having blithely told the House of these bristling and perplexing questions, Sir Winston then warned us all off by urging that it would not be in the public interest to ask questions and expect answers on any of these issues. After that the Far East was hardly mentioned in the Debate.

It was left to Mr. Atelee to point out that nothing had been said about the progress or lack of progress at Panmunjom. The Leader of the Opposition felt that Mr. Arthur Dean was fully justified in the strong line that he had taken. He asked how far we were to approaching any

agreement on the settlement in the Far East between ourselves and the United States of America because there are divergences and it is best to face them. After this the Tory "Rebels" plunged the House into a discussion on Egypt and the Suez Canal. Here for the first time we witnessed the spectacle of Tory attacking Tory and Viscount Lambton was called a "cheeky young pup" by his fellow-Conservative, Mr. Martin Lindsay, for attacking the Tory Rebels in the way that he did.

I found Members disturbed by the way that Mr. Foster Dulles appeared to hurl down the gauntlet in relation to the Ministers' Conference of the North Atlantic Alliance. Mr. Dulles in his desire to speed the ratification of the European Defence Community threatened that America would have to make an agonising reappraisal of its basic policies if the ratification was not made. Many M.P.s would like to know if he had really taken into account the influence that this might have on the policy of France in Indo-China. Such an ultimatum at this juncture can do little else than place the French at a disadvantage in any negotiations that might be pending with Ho Chi Minh. French Conservative papers, too, like *Le Monde*, resent this brusque and unceremonious Dulles approach. Further, it needs very little reflection to see how welcome this kind of thing will be to President Syngman Rhee. All these hints at dissension in the European sphere are bound to have unpleasant effects upon the atmosphere of any discussions about the Far East between the Western Powers.

Some of us here at Westminster feel that we can only convert the atmosphere of the armistice in Korea into that of peace if we face certain economic needs of the Asian countries. It is with some such view as this in mind that Sir Richard Acland, M.P., stated in the House that the real task before us is to help the 200 million people who are determined to free themselves from the poverty and contempt which they and their predecessors have endured for centuries. Sir Richard argued that the Colombo Plan up to now had been no more than the repayment of a debt and that everything which we have given, invested and lent in the last twelve months in the assistance of others is just about half of what we have borrowed from our own Colonies in the same period. The Second Annual Report on the Colombo Plan which M.P.s have now received shows that the decline in export earnings has added greatly to the task before the Colombo Plan countries. Because of this M.P.s on both sides of the House tend to welcome the liberalisation of trade with China and other Asian countries. As the months go by the strategic needs of Asia are bound to play second fiddle to the economic facts. We see this to be true of no country more than Indonesia which became a member of the Colombo Plan early in 1953.



# ASIA IN WASHINGTON

*By David C. Williams (Washington)*

**T**HE perennially explosive topic of trade with Communist China has been seized upon by Senator McCarthy in an effort to split the Eisenhower Administration from the Old Guard of the Republican Party. It confronts the President with the dilemma that has faced him since he took office a year ago—that he can achieve unity of his own party only at the expense of the unity of the free world.

Senator McCarthy launched his attack in a typically oblique fashion. In defending himself before the nationwide radio and television audience against the charge that his Administration had harboured spies (e.g. Harry Dexter White), former President Truman made a few brief but pungent remarks about McCarthyism.

The Senator demanded free time from the major radio and television networks, ostensibly to answer Truman. But, after a few perfunctory passages on this theme, he launched a vehement attack upon President Eisenhower, the leader of his own Party. While American soldiers languished in Chinese prison camps, he cried, America's allies continued the "blood trade" with China. All that the Administration did, he complained, was to send "perfumed notes" to the countries concerned, instead of cracking the whip upon them by threatening to cut off all economic and military aid.

This was promptly recognised by Washington observers as another attempt by McCarthy to usurp the functions of the President and the Secretary of State in framing American foreign policy. It was followed by a statement from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, constituting the clearest repudiation of the Senator yet made by a leading figure of the Administration. Although he did not mention him by name, Dulles made it very clear, by a pointed reference to the "perfumed notes" phrase, what he had in mind. Moreover, he explicitly stated that his words had been approved by the President, and this Eisenhower confirmed at his next press conference.

McCarthy was furious. At this point, however, Leonard Hall, Chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party, embarked upon a peacemaking mission. Hall attaches a high value to McCarthy's participation in this year's crucial Congressional elections, feeling that the furore he is capable of raising about Communism and the "softness" of past Democratic Administrations towards it can win many seats for Republican candidates. He is therefore anxious, to use a favourite phrase of this Administration, to keep McCarthy in the "team."

After long argument, Hall persuaded McCarthy to confine his reply to Dulles to a carefully prepared and moderate statement. He reckoned, however, without the Senator's fiery temper. At the press conference called to

release the statement, one of the reporters scanned it and noted its relatively mild tone.

"Couldn't this be considered a perfumed note," Senator?" he mischievously inquired.

Senator McCarthy promptly lost his temper. He added to his prepared statement a public appeal to his supporters asking them to deluge the White House with letters and telegrams, demanding that aid to all countries trading with China be cut off.

McCarthy's fanatical followers were first to respond, and gave him an early lead. But as Republican moderates swung into action, his lead was reduced and then wiped out. Significantly, the total of the telegrams received, both for and against McCarthy, was surprisingly low. Most people seemed to be bored by the argument and too little aroused by it to respond one way or the other.

Nevertheless, McCarthy has continued to sound the "blood trade" theme. He knows that he is taking a popular line. Most Republicans, in fact, privately agree with him, and would say so but for loyalty to the President. On this issue, public opinion in the United States is in complete contrast to that in Britain and other countries allied with the United States. No sharp distinction is drawn in the public mind between trade in strategic goods and trade in non-strategic goods. To the average man in the street, either kind of trade looks like helping the enemy.

So far, the Administration has stood firm. The danger is, however, that it will continue to be so harassed by fire from the rear that, rather like the Truman Administration, it will hesitate to take any steps that can be construed as appeasement. When Dukes hinted recently that ultimate recognition of the Peking régime was not out of the question, he was severely rebuked by Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican majority in the Senate. Although Administration figures have continued privately to discuss the possibility of recognition with leaders of American public opinion, they are likely to fear opening themselves to further damaging fire from McCarthy and his associates among the backwoodsmen of the Republican Party.

The President has strongly reasserted his leadership in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly, advocating an international agency for the peaceful development of atomic power. His proposal opens such wide vistas for peaceful progress for the whole world as to raise and redirect the attention of his fellow-citizens from sordid squabbling about the past to planning for a better future.

Can the President carry Congress with him on this bold proposal? Truman faced a similar problem with the Marshall Plan, which Stalin solved for him by withdrawing from the Marshall Plan negotiations. It remains to be seen whether Malenkov will repeat the blunder.

# AMERICA'S VANISHING TRIBE

By Andrew Roth

**A** GROUP of Americans is disappearing. This group is being ravaged as surely as certain tribes of American Indians once disappeared before the rifles and strange diseases of the advancing white settler.

Today's vanishing Americans are the Left-of-Centre Experts on Asia. By now most Europeans and Asians have become so accustomed to thinking of American attitudes on Asia in terms of Dulles, MacArthur and Truman that they forget that this was not always so.

It is sometimes forgotten—except, of course, by Senator McCarthy and other inquisitors doing the work of the "China Lobby"—that the liberal-left wing of American thinking on Asia was active as recently as the last year of President Roosevelt's administration. In plans for the peace, their advanced views were put forward within the Washington administration as often as those proposing a return substantially to the old order of things. The books on Asia having the largest sale in the US were Professor Lattimore's *Solution in Asia* and Harrison Forman's enthusiastic *Report on Red China*. Edgar Snow, who had made his reputation with *Red Star over China*, was a proud Feature and Associate Editor of the "Saturday Evening Post." "Collier's" featured Mark Gayn's attacks on corruption in Chungking.

At the Hot Springs international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1945, many on the American team considered the representatives of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) as "old-fashioned fuddy-duddies." Since Chatham House's leading representative was the chairman of a number of rubber plantation companies and since the prominent Labour politician Arthur Creech-Jones (who subsequently became Colonial Secretary) half-defended the colonial system, we tended to consider Chatham House as defending the *status quo* in Asia.

The American delegation was fairly representative, with some businessmen, a retired Admiral (on whose staff I served), a number of academicians, some government officials and the like. Owen Lattimore, then at the peak of his reputation as a liberal specialist on Asia, was the delegation's leading light. Then, five years before he was "discovered" by Senator McCarthy, he was considered somewhat too statesmanlike by some of the Americans there. Mr. Lattimore never attacked Chiang Kai-shek for the corruption and mismanagement in Chungking then being disclosed in the American press. He always blamed "the men around the Generalissimo."

Mrs. Pandit, then only an attractive agitator for Indian independence and the sister of a distinguished Indian "jailbird," was probably the most fiery speaker at the conference. And she looked primarily to the Americans for support. In 1945 Asian nationalists still counted on the US as an anti-colonial influence.

The fact is that in 1945 the centre of gravity among US experts on Asia was distinctly left of centre, politically speaking. Simple-minded McCarthyites, with their bogey man interpretation of history, would explain it all as a Kremlin plot, with Communist agents being planted in positions of power as the result of Machiavellian manoeuvres. The Communists undoubtedly did seek positions of power and influence in the Far Eastern field, as they did in every other. But what the bogey man theory of history does not explain is why Communist influence had relatively more success in American policy toward the Pacific, or why the body of expert opinion on Asia—in the universities, research organisations or government—was so much more liberal than American opinion on other aspects of foreign affairs.

The short answer, I believe, is that the Far East attracted a very wide section of those Americans with a social conscience and an interest in foreign affairs. The reasons for becoming interested were various. The pacifists, of course, were fascinated by the Gandhian struggle for independence in India. (So enthusiastic were they that I recall being excluded from an organisation headed by a pacifist clergyman because he insisted that the organisation only supported India's effort for independence if it were achieved by pacifist means. I suggested that the organisation should support India's independence movement but leave it to the Indians to decide on the means.) Enthusiasts for birth control, of course, found the whole of the Far East, and particularly Japan, a fertile field to plough, if not to seed.

Some specialists came from among the hundreds of thousands of small-town church-goers who felt they were doing their bit to help humanity by raising funds to send medical and other missionaries, particularly to China. Many were simply attracted by the exotic colour and the dramatic clashes of culture and creed. My own introduction to the Far Eastern field came through reading Pearl Buck's *Mother Earth* and Agnes Smedley's *China's Red Army Marches* in my early teens.

Once interested, Asia almost inevitably had a radical impact on the socially conscious American intellectual. Almost all became anti-colonial. In every colonial, or semi-colonial situation, the American war for independence was the obvious analogy. What was good enough for America was obviously good enough for countries in Asia which were still colonies.

The degrading poverty of Asia evoked the indignation of interested Americans. I remember a Latin teacher at the high school at which I taught who told me: "I was a conservative until I took a round-the-world trip on my sabbatical leave. When I saw the way the Chinese and Indians were compelled to live, I realised there was something radically wrong with things as they are." That was

a time, of course, when Americans were more prone to sympathise with suffering because they had had a touch of it themselves in the Depression. They were not as sure of themselves then, when there was mass unemployment in the United States. The rapid wartime and post-war rise in living standards had not yet given them that we-can-do-it-why-can't-you attitude.

A deep, socially conscious sympathy for Asia grew rapidly, partly because there were few internal conservative forces to combat this attitude. There was no substantial body of colonial administrators or vested interests anxious to explain that "these people can't rule themselves." America's only Asian colony was the Philippines and, after 1936, that was pledged independence at the end of ten years. There were no investments overseas to compare with those of Western Europe. Most of America's foreign investments, of course, were in Canada and Latin America, neither of which had any substantial attraction for American intellectuals.

The only pre-war lobby comparable to the recent "China Lobby" was that extolling and defending Japan and its actions. Japanese culture had a strong appeal for those Americans whose interest in Asia was primarily æsthetic. There were also strong and stable links between Japanese and American firms. During the early '30s there was an important group, with influential representatives in the State Department, business and academic circles which favoured an alliance with the "moderate" business elements in Japan. On this basis Japanese official propagandists made extensive efforts to win support for Japan's course of action. But this propaganda was increasingly defensive after 1932 and particularly after 1937.

It was the Japanese attack on China in 1937 which, more than any other single factor, shaped the thinking and relations of American Asian experts and established the leadership of liberal-left elements. The attack silenced or isolated the only substantial group of influential conservative thinkers on Asian problems: those who thought of an alliance with a Japan dominated by Zaibatsu elements. The 1937 attack made it clear these "moderates" had been completely overcome by the military. Moreover, it became evident the Japanese military were determined to clear out all Western influence in the Pacific.

The "aid China" campaign welded together an extremely broad front of people anxious to help the beleaguered Chinese. This campaign did not attain the emotional intensity of the simultaneous "aid Spain" campaign—no volunteers went to fight in China. But it had a greater breadth. The bitter and highly organised opposition of the Catholic Church to the "aid Spain" campaign was absent in the "aid China, boycott Japan" movement. It embraced a wide range of people from the Communists to leading businessmen, including many missionary groups.

There is no doubt that the Communists were assisted in their attempts to win friends and influence people towards their point of view by the absence of any large centre-left party in the US comparable to Britain's Labour Party. Of

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course, in Britain many Labourites attempting to get the Labour Party to do something to aid Spain and China and boycott Japan ran into difficulties: Sir Stafford Cripps, Aneurin Bevan and George Strauss were expelled from the Labour Party for their efforts. But however placid the Labour Party leadership—and particularly the trade union leaders like Ernest Bevin—may have seemed, it was the obvious platform and group to seek to influence. In the United States the liberal-left intellectual attempting to do something about Asia found himself in a political vacuum with the liberal fringe of President Roosevelt's administration at one side and the highly organised and highly articulate Communist minority at the other. It is easy now to tag anyone as a fellow-traveller who wanted to do anything in the 'thirties on stopping aggression in Asia. If he felt impelled to join a picket-line demanding a boycott of Japanese goods, there were sure to be Communists marching—if they had not organised it.

There is something obscene and ridiculous about the questions now asked about whether Professor Whozit knew that Mr. Whatzit was a Communist in the '30s. It was precisely the sort of question which was put during the 1937-41 period. The question asked was: is he in favour of aid to China and sanctions against Japan? Within that framework there were obviously other distinctions. Some were completely uncritical about Chiang Kai-shek, others about the Chinese Communists. But most of us would no



more ask a man whether he was a Communist—or isolate him if he were—than Mr. Dulles would now ask Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek whether they are full-fledged Jeffersonian democrats.

Those with Communist sympathies in the Far Eastern field were never isolated by the Nazi-Soviet pact in the same way that those in the European field were. China's defence remained a "just" war in Moscow's parlance. No one had to stand on his head overnight and say China wasn't worth helping and that there was no distinction between aggressors and their victims.

In fact, to those whose interest in the Far East was dominated by concern over the fate of China, the Communist position seemed less objectionable in 1940, precisely when most specialists in European affairs were revolted by the Russian attack on Finland. In Asia, it will be remembered, 1940 was the year that Britain closed the Burma Road to China and Vichy France yielded Indo-China to the Japanese. The Russians continued their aid to isolated China.

In addition to these historical factors, there are some personal influences which prodded the Far Eastern experts to the left. Of the four wealthy Asian experts, only one, Virginia Thompson, was a middle-of-the-roader. The other three threw their influence, and some of their money, to the Left. One of them, Frederick V. Field, became a spokesman for the American Communists on Asian affairs.

This combination of subjective and objective factors found itself reflected in the publications and institutions dealing with the area. *Amerasia* which, since 1945, has become notorious as a political symbol in the US, was started in 1937 as a broadly left-liberal semi-academic magazine on Asian policy. It then had on its editorial board middle-of-the-road Professors Cyrus Peake and Kenneth Colegrove, liberals Owen Lattimore and William T. Stone, liberal-leftists Kate Mitchell, Robert K.

Reischauer and T. A. Bisson, and leftists Philip Jaffe and Chi Ch'ao-Ting (now in Peking). It went further left as its moderate editors resigned or entered Government service.

The most influential non-official organisation was, of course, the Institute of Pacific Relations and its quarterly *Pacific Affairs* (edited by Owen Lattimore) and fortnightly *Far Eastern Survey*. It is ludicrous to suggest that all, or even most, of the articles in either publication were left wing. But certainly left wing ideas had more representation in them than in similar quasi-academic publications on non-Pacific subjects.

If there was any "culprit" at the Institute of Pacific Relations it was Edward C. Carter. He was virtually its creator, after a long and distinguished career in the YMCA in Asia. He was very sensitive to the movement of ideas in Asia and encouraging to young men entering the field. He used his tremendous charm and diplomacy to get money from Wall Street corporations to give jobs to specialists, not discriminating against those who were quite Left.

The Washington inquisitors gave him quite an easy time in comparison with Owen Lattimore. It is still not popular to crucify an ex-YMCA secretary in his mid-70s. And there was clearly more to be gained by destroying the wide influence of Professor Owen Lattimore.

Prof. Lattimore has become the symbol of liberal-left influence on American policy toward Asia, which grew in the 'thirties and reached its maximum influence in Washington in 1944-45. He is the effigy which must be burnt in public to assuage the anti-Communist crusaders, the outraged paternalists and crude nationalists who prefer to believe in bogeymen rather than face the more arduous task of analysing the real causes of Communist advances in Asia, particularly in China. A British correspondent summed up the attitude which Lattimore's persecutors are exploiting: "China was lost, so somebody must have lost it."

## THE INDONESIAN POLITICAL SCENE

By David Ingber

THE year 1954 is expected to be the most important year in the short but chequered history of the Indonesian Republic. For the first time since the Declaration of Independence on August 17th, 1945, the people of Indonesia will elect a Parliament based on universal suffrage. For some time past the electoral register has been compiled in the innumerable islands of the Republic state. As polling day draws nearer public interest in this electoral contest is bound to increase accordingly. What the outcome of the General Election will be is so far a matter for speculation. But it is generally expected that the electorate will indicate a preference for the larger parties rather than for the large variety of smaller groups. It is not ruled out that, after this test of public opinion, some of the splinter groups will either combine to form a cohesive Opposition or else disappear altogether.

The ordinary citizen who is expected to exercise his

mind over Indonesian complexities may be excused for feeling slightly out of his depth. To compare party systems is always a difficult task, particularly in Indonesia where one is labouring under the additional handicap of a multiplicity of political organisations. The present Parliament is a nominated body of 218 members representing no fewer than 18 different movements. The distribution of seats is based on the relative strength of the parties and allows representation of non-party groups. The largest political organisation is the "Masjumi" (Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia), or "Indonesian Moslem League," which has 38 deputies in Parliament and an estimated membership of 10 millions. As its name implies, the Masjumi is essentially a Moslem movement with a Right Wing programme aiming at the establishment of an Indonesian state based on the teachings of Islam. Although founded only nine years ago it is the party of past and future Ministers and because of



the importance of religion in Indonesia its influence is considerable. The main features of the Masjumi's programme could well be described as Tory democracy with a "theocratic" superstructure. For all its attachment to the political content of the ideal of Islam the Masjumi is the exponent of full employment through rapid industrialisation so as to reduce Indonesia's dependence on essential imports; a Senate representing all territories of the Republic, higher output in farming and industry as well as higher family allowances. While welcoming foreign capital for investments the Masjumi strongly deprecates "outside influences" as contrary to the tenets of Islam. In foreign affairs feeling in the party favours close cooperation with all Islamic powers but non-participation in the Cold War, on the grounds that the young state of Indonesia is still too much of a tender hothouse plant to be exposed to the high winds of power politics.

Next in importance comes the "Partai Nasional Indonesia" (PNI) of which none other than Indonesia's President, Ahmed Sukarno, was at once the originator and the guiding spirit. In the twenty-seven years of its existence the fluctuating fortunes of the party reflected the ups and downs of the national struggle for independence for the PNI was more than any other movement responsible for the political awakening of the masses and for that reason the object of repressive measures by the Dutch pre-war authorities. Ideologically, it is left-of-centre with 37 deputies in Parliament. Since the state of Indonesia came into being PNI participation in the government has been so to speak "de rigueur" and the present Sastroamidjojo administration is no exception to the rule. Though by no means a Marxist party the PNI follows a socialist line in home affairs advocating higher output, state ownership of vital industries and an agrarian reform to enable every peasant to become a smallholder. But in foreign affairs the PNI programme has a Nationalist rather than a socialist flavour. In that field, the emphasis is on friendly relations with all countries, non-involvement in ideological conflicts, close cooperation with the young post-war states in South-East Asia and the repudiation of the Act of Union with the Netherlands. To the PNI (as to the Masjumi and all other parties) the struggle for independence is not over so long as Western New Guinea (otherwise known as West Irian), which is still under Dutch administration, is not returned to the mother country.

The Left is made up of four major groups and various minor ones. The principal party is the "Partai Socialis Indonesia" (PSI); the nearest Indonesian equivalent to the British Labour Party. It is a right wing Socialist movement with 16 members in Parliament whose declared policy is a "welfare state" in the Western sense of the word. Under the leadership of Sjutun Sjahrir, one of the most notable figures of the struggle for independence, the PSI has successfully survived the party split of 1948 when the Marxist element led by Amir Sjarifuddin broke away. For the Indonesian Socialists, public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange remains the ultimate

goal. Yet in their approach to domestic problems they acknowledge the dangers of "premature nationalisation" and stress the need for higher output on a cooperative basis. The international programme of the PSI is one of close cooperation with all socialist parties elsewhere. The party also favours the creation of a South-East Asian "bloc" in world affairs on the lines of a "Third Force."

The smaller parties need no more than a brief reference. For the most part they are made up of "break-away" elements of the major groups. To an outsider their number is nothing short of perplexing. But the difficulty does not end there. Party labels can be as often as not wholly misleading and there are many political groups with no parliamentary representation at all, while others that are represented are not, strictly speaking, purely political organisations. There is, for instance, a "Partai Buruh" (Labour party) as distinct from a "Golongan Buruh" (Labour Group). The "Greater Indonesian Union" has evidently no connection with the "Greater Indonesian party." Among the "denominational" groups are the "Katholik" (Roman Catholic) and the "Christian People's party," or "Parkindo" (Protestant). There is also a small but influential Moslem party—the "Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia," or United Islam party of Indonesia—with two members in the government and five in Parliament, which although a right wing movement is on the left of the Moslem political organisations.

The "unknown quantity" in the electoral contest will be the PKI, i.e. the "Partai Komunis Indonesia." It is generally believed that the PKI's position will remain more or less static though economic factors may well swing the balance in its favour. The PKI holds 14 seats in Parliament but cannot claim to hold a Marxist monopoly in the state. It is, however, the "genuine article" following the party line in the matter of tactics and propaganda as distinct from the democratic gradualism of its rivals. In the political sphere, the PKI's influence is to a large extent diluted by the nationalist and religious element which still exercise a stronger emotional appeal than dialectical materialism. But the real strength of the Communists lies in their manipulation of the All-Indonesian Federation of Labour (SOBSI); the most important in the country. The latter is affiliated to the Communist-controlled "World Federation of Trade Unions" (WFTU) which has lately taken over many of the functions of the now dormant Cominform. At the October congress of the WFTU in Vienna, a SOBSI delegate was elected to the Executive while the final resolution urged intensified activities in the colonial and underdeveloped countries of South-East Asia. The nature of these "activities" is sufficiently well-known to require no elaboration.

This in short is the background to the first General Election in Indonesia. In recent times the young state has now and again faced internal strains and stresses, such as the risings in Celebes and Acheen. Some of these events were more or less local issues; others were closely related to wider issues but all of them dominate the political scene

of a country where economic and political problems have never long been separated. Economically, the stark facts of the situation are that Indonesia's main exports—tin and rubber—which sold for inflated prices three years ago now have to sell in a buyers' market. The concomitants of this are a high cost-of-living and a permanent gap in the

balance of payments. Politically, the present Sastroamidjojo government is an uneasy coalition with both the Masjumi and the Socialists in Opposition. For the sake of Indonesia's stability it is to be hoped that the election results will produce the kind of workable majority that will see the country through a critical consolidation period.

## DISILLUSION IN INDONESIA

*By a Diplomatic Correspondent (Djakarta)*

**A**LTHOUGH not exactly in the focus of world interest, developments within the young Republic of Indonesia cannot fail to have an effect on certain other countries. Indonesia occupies a remarkable central position. She consists of an almost uninterrupted chain of islands stretching from the southern part of the Asian mainland. In this manner she connects the Philippines not only with the southern point of Malaya but also to a considerable extent with the Indian subcontinent. She has strong, even strongest, personal ties with the gigantic Chinese empire. No less than two million Chinese live in the main cities but also occupy key positions in all the smaller townships spread over the archipelago. They are the actual preserving and driving element of Indonesia's economy. They realise and make use of trade possibilities; they constitute the main organisation for distribution also for European imports to other countries; they are in the possession of a rigidly organised and comparatively modern system of schools; they consider themselves to be a closed group upholding certain interests within the state and towards the state. Their connection with the motherland is politically strong. They are not genuine communists but proud of the strength of China. Of lesser importance is the Arabian element in Indonesia, which nevertheless can look back upon a much earlier period of economic and missionary activity. It is on the whole quite a prosperous community and has not dropped sentimental ties with its native country, for a connection still exists with Hadramaut, the land where the original missionaries came from. The large villas on the stony, waterless coast of Makalla are a result of the considerable fortunes made in Indonesia by homecoming Arab traders. The Indian section of the population is also of some importance since relations with India must not be underestimated for the reason that events in India and Indian ideas have assumed far-reaching importance in Indonesia.

This brings us to the core of the urgent problems of this young state. At its head stands a man who has experienced ostracism, imprisonment, and who is renowned in the widest circles of the nation and also abroad for his rhetorical qualities. "Bung Karno," as President Sukarno is called by the people, has, however, during the years lost some of the faith which the majority had in him. The reasons are that Indonesia naturally wants to rid herself of all traces of former dependence, but in so doing she is forced to recognise her great economic dependence on the

Dutch, who still occupy all the key positions in the country. The bulk of Indonesian trade is still in Dutch hands, and so is the banking system. After the creation of the new state, it was found that numerous Dutch officials were needed because of their knowledge and experience. The entire Indonesian ruling class has gone through Dutch schools and even today by far the greatest part of those Indonesians who are studying abroad are to be found in Holland. But now Indonesia sees that an almost undiminished flow of profits is still going to Holland even though political independence has been achieved. Her leaders had promised the people that with freedom (*Kemerdekaan*) life would be better, disease, hunger, unemployment and unsafety would decrease, perhaps not at once, but steadily and effectively. Now we are already looking back upon five years of an ever-growing political autonomy, but the promised blessings of freedom have not come.

On the contrary, a considerable deficit in the budget, accompanied by various demoralising symptoms, was the sequence of a boom due to American purchases of high-priced raw materials. Production, which suffered severely from the effects of the war and its aftermath, has not yet recovered. The worst, however, is the lack of internal security. The disappointment about the unfulfilled promises and also the laxity with which these problems are being tackled have created an ever-growing feeling of insecurity. This unsafety is of a very strange kind: it is neither clearly military nor wholly criminal, it is not entirely political but nevertheless to a high degree due to moral-political factors. The condition within the country and even more within the hearts of its inhabitants is exceedingly difficult to explain because of its contradictory character.

On the one hand the five high ethical principles of government: justice, humanity, purity, piety and social feeling are being emphasised; on the other we find that these principles are counteracted diametrically. The military men take whatever they think fit or need; the government keeps whatever was ceded to it one way or another through the nebulous condition of the laws. Likewise minor officials appear to have the right to engage in any kind of private business because they are insufficiently paid. Decisions are avoided if possible; important questions are studied deeply and repeatedly but never tackled; elaborate plans are being discussed, dropped

and taken up again, but otherwise it is left to the care-free nature of the people to get rid of these problems by the soothing effect of time. True, many problems are solved in this way: people die, contrasts equalise themselves, new ones come into being until sooner or later the tension will lead to an explosion and a forced solution will blaze the trail for a new order.

There are many symptoms which indicate that developments in Indonesia are approaching this point. The first symptom was the demonstration of a military group on October 17th, 1952. At the beginning it was a success: Parliament cringed as its chairs were smashed, and vanished entirely from the political scene. Then, however, the politicians gathered their courage and themselves, and slowly started to regain their old position. For this the army had to be corrupted first. Three Corps-commanders were involved in this mutiny which was sanctioned and even fostered by leading Indonesians. Thus naturally the symptoms of corruption and incompetence were not checked; and so we have today an independent government in Sulawesi (Celebes), one in West Java and another one which is trying to set itself up in the recent combat area of Atjeh (N. Sumatra). At the same time, the public is informed that the situation is constantly improving. Government departments, however, complain that they are not receiving any definite instructions since the Government do not want to offend any susceptibilities by taking strong measures.

Thus this beautiful country, with its gentle and easily-led but also easily-raised population, is subject to the chang-

ing influences of various factors. But even these lightly accepted tensions have their limits. In Parliament and in the press a fight goes on between the more orderly and more ethical elements supporting the state and those who indulge in essentially egoistic views. The latter elements were able to keep their seats mainly through the communist party and in growing extent have to rely on its support. This is an exceedingly treacherous pillar for the power of the state. This danger, while becoming more and more imminent, has mobilised counterforces at the same time. Indonesia is perhaps going to experience a similar development as the one Mexico went through after the resignation of President Miguel Aleman. Upon the lowest possible level of the state's morals, upon corruption and the resulting luxury of the thin upper crust followed—exactly as now in Egypt—an abrupt reaction. At present every one in Indonesia more or less lives on borrowed money. There hardly is a lower official without big debts or a higher one who is not a partner in some deal, no one who does not on pay-day try to change his rupiahs into foreign currency.

Foreign countries are not entirely guiltless. They have not stuck to their principles nor have they tried to enforce them or even demonstrated their will to do so. A re-birth, however, has to come from within the nation. From Indonesian youth, which possesses idealistic powers which are not to be underestimated, may well arise political leadership and a body of officials who, remembering their own ideals will carry out the great reform movement which is so urgently needed.

## PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

*By Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Karachi)*

**M**OHAMMED ALI JINNAH, the founder of Pakistan, laid down for all time the principle which will govern all that Pakistanis say and do in the United Nations Assemblies. He said:

"War-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organisation, for on its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend the salvation of mankind of the future civilisation. Pakistan, which has been recently admitted to the United Nations, will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organisation and help it in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal."

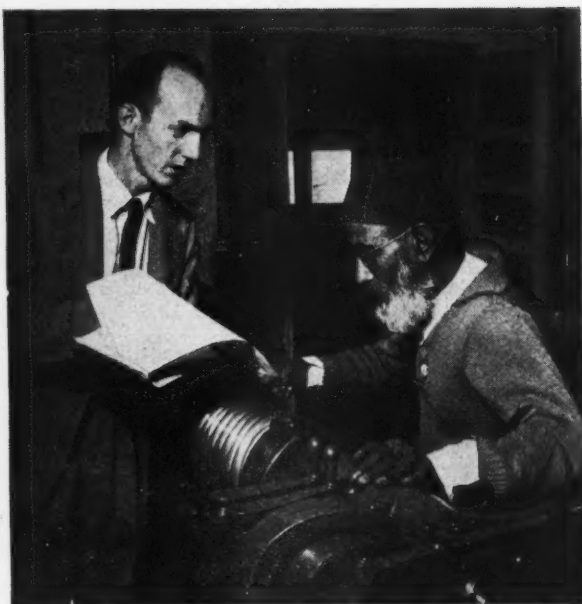
Pakistanis can be justly proud that their representatives in the United Nations have faithfully implemented that policy laid down some six years ago. And this they have done without any mental reservations, for the religion which the vast majority of them follow is essentially the religion of peace and whose God is the God of entire humanity and not of Muslims alone.

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It is all the more remarkable that Pakistanis are whole-heartedly devoted to the United Nations even though this body has not come up to their expectations. Indeed, in several matters Pakistanis have been sorely disappointed in the decisions arrived at in that organisation. Our first major disappointment came soon after we were admitted to the United Nations when it was decided against all principles of justice and fair play that the Jews will have a state in the very heart of the Arab world on the plea that they have been persecuted by Hitler and his allies in Europe and they must have a homeland somewhere—an argument which will convince nobody. By creating this state, not only did the United Nations prove, especially to the Muslim world, that in the interest of certain Big Powers it could afford to set aside all principles of justice and equity, but it also created a situation which will always be a source of great tension in one of the most vital regions of the world—just the opposite of the ideals of the United Nations.

The record of the United Nations in the dispute between India and Pakistan on Kashmir is equally discouraging. Every representative of the United Nations who





*A Unesco expert demonstrates the operation of an instrument used in the study of artificial rain-making. This United Nations workshop trains Pakistani technicians in various aspects of geophysics, and conducts research in that field*

has had a chance of studying this dispute is convinced that India is in the wrong, but the world organisation finds itself impotent to apply against India any kind of sanctions, moral, economic or military. The United Nations has also failed in satisfying the just demand of the peoples of Morocco and Tunisia for independence. It is true that recently this question has been discussed in that body, but the aggressor nation in this case has not recognised the competence of the United Nations to discuss the matter. It is indeed a great pity that it is not realised in the United Nations that situations such as these are quite capable of disturbing world peace. It is this attitude of the United

Nations which brought forth from the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan, a very frank criticism of certain Big Powers. Speaking in the General Assembly debate on September 18th last he said:

"The Korean situation and the Far East are not the only tensions that threaten peace. In fact they are but so many symptoms and manifestations of the basic evil. That evil is the denial of the brotherhood of man—of all men, whatever the colour of their skins, white, dark, brown or yellow—and the arrogant assumption that certain sections of mankind are entitled, as of right, to exercise domination over other sections of their fellow beings. Such domination is an affront to human dignity, irrespective of whether this domination manifests in Korea, in Indo-China, in Tunisia, in Morocco or elsewhere."

This criticism of the United Nations does not of course mean that Pakistan does not find anything commendable in that organisation. Even in the political field the United Nations has several achievements to its credit. For instance, the peoples of Iran, Indonesia and of the former Italian colonies will always remember with gratitude the part played by the world organisation in their struggle against imperialist powers. But from the point of view of Pakistan, the United Nations' greatest achievement is in the economic and social field. The world organisation and its various agencies are doing a very good job in assisting the underdeveloped countries in raising their living standards. In 1952 alone, 18 experts on economic development were made available to Pakistan under the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. ECAFE has made an expert study of some of our very difficult problems such as inland navigation in East Pakistan, FAO has placed at our disposal a very large number of experts to assist us in reclaiming water-logged land and other problems, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has negotiated two and promised several other loans to enable us to develop our resources. The World Health Organisation has initiated campaigns against cholera and malaria in East Pakistan while the Children's Emergency Fund has helped the Government of Pakistan in establishing a BCG Production Laboratory and is also providing equipment for a DDT factory. Unesco has provided assistance for our broadcasting organisation, while the International Labour Organisation has made an expert study of our agricultural and industrial labour. A large number of fellowships and scholarships have been made available to Pakistanis by the United Nations and its various agencies to enable them to learn modern techniques. More than any other people Pakistanis are convinced that this is a very great step indeed taken by the United Nations in removing the perpetual tension between the "haves" and "have-nots." As the United Nations' efforts begin to bear fruit in this field, it will be accompanied by a greater understanding between the developed and the underdeveloped nations. Pakistanis, like the other underdeveloped peoples, are looking forward to the time when the tension between the great powers will ease, so that more men and money could be made available for this very noble task.

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# THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA

By John J. Pinto (Calcutta)

"WE are," said Jawaharlal Nehru in a memorable opening speech in the debate in the Constituent Assembly on the subject of a National Language for India, "on the threshold of a linguistic revolution in India, and we must be careful that we give it the right character, the right shape, the right mould lest it go wrong and betray us in the wrong direction." The Assembly's historic decision to replace English by Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India will be, when this is accomplished, a major feature in this linguistic revolution; a second, and by no means less important one, is the vexed question of the future of the English language in India.

Sentimental chauvinists and traditionalists, blind to contemporary realities, are not wanting. They demand the total and immediate banishment of English from India on the grounds that it is the language of India's erstwhile rulers and a "symbol of foreign domination." Fortunately there is a very strong and influential body of opinion, led by the Prime Minister himself and several of his colleagues, rigidly opposed to this narrow bigotry and false patriotism, for they realise clearly that the English language has played, and must continue to play, a vital role in Indian education, culture and life.

This progressive point of view was given eloquent expression by Mr. K. M. Munshi, Minister of Food, when opening a recent exhibition of English books sponsored by the British Council. Mr. Munshi emphasised that English literature was by far the richest in the world, that it had broken down barriers of race, geography and colour, enabling East and West to meet in the friendly intercourse of the mind, and that it had been, after the printing press, the most potent influence in unifying and uplifting the world. In India the study of the English language and literature, added Mr. Munshi, had brought about a cultural renaissance by reviving native languages and literature; it must continue to occupy a prominent position in Indian life and culture for it had become a world language and was as much the property of India or Canada or Australia as it was of England. Mr. Munshi's generous tribute to India's debt to the English language and literature may sound extravagant; actually it is a sober statement of fact and has left much unsaid.

The study of English has rendered other great services to India besides those mentioned by the Food Minister. It is fashionable nowadays in certain quarters to abuse Lord Macaulay for his famous Minute of 1832 in which he decided that English should be the medium of Higher Education in India. It is usually forgotten that it was perhaps the only possible decision at the time. In spite of some disadvantages, it has brought a rich harvest to India.

Education in English opened to Indians the treasures of Western literature and science and provided a key to the

fundamental ideas of modern civilisation and a window on the outside world, without which she might still have been among the "backward races." Further, it broke through linguistic barriers, providing a bond of unity between the heterogeneous, multi-lingual peoples of the sub-continent, and made a notable contribution to the struggle for and the attainment of independence, for concepts such as nationality, secular democracy and nationalism were largely the gifts of the English language in India. Macaulay, when proclaiming his much-criticised decision, foresaw that the study of English language and literature would eventually lead to a demand for English institutions and for self-government; it is to his lasting glory that he faced the prospect with equanimity and pride. "Whether such a day will come I know not. When it does it will be the proudest day in English history."

In view of India's debt to English, the facility and skill with which educated Indians acquire and wield the English language, and the difficulties involved in substituting it by an Indian language as the mother tongue of India, many deplored the Constituent Assembly's decision to replace it by Hindi as soon as feasible. This point of view is as extreme as that put forward by those who would banish English from India. English has done, and will do great service to India. But, sooner or later, it must be replaced by an Indian vernacular as the official language of India. Such a course of action can be justified not only on political but on educational grounds.

Politically, English has done much harm by exerting a stultifying effect on the growth and development of the native languages, which largely accounts for the fact that none of them are rich, flexible and dynamic enough to be able to replace English immediately. Moreover, English has been the language only of an educated élite so that it has split India into "two nations"—the educated and the masses, with few points of social and cultural contact between them.

While a few have mastered the intricacies of English sufficiently to really benefit from it, the majority of those educated in English have derived little advantage but much harm from it. English has with them been mainly the language of the mind and of abstract thought, not of the emotions and sensations of their daily lives. They have tended to feel in one language and think in another, hence the "split mind" which is a common phenomenon among so many educated Indians, who have mastered neither English nor their own language so as to be able to do any creative work in either.

In the light of these facts, the pattern and the future of English in India begins to emerge. It would be neither

feasible nor desirable, in fact it would be little short of suicidal, to attempt to replace English overnight by Hindi or the regional languages as the official language or medium of higher education in India. Recent attempts to do so in one or two "progressive" universities have had disastrous results in the lowering of standards, for the vernaculars are not yet ready to take the place of English, and it will take many years and much hard work before they are. English must, therefore, continue for at least 15 years, and possibly more, to be the official language, the medium of education at the Universities, and a compulsory language at the secondary stage. Even when it is replaced in these spheres by the vernaculars, it must and will continue to be India's principal and compulsory second language at the Secondary and University stages for as the recent University Commission observes, without "access to this knowledge (of English) our standards of scholarship would fast deteriorate and our participation in world movements

of thought would become negligible." During the present generation there is small likelihood of English being banished from India, or even of its taking second place to Hindi or any other native language. The majority of educated Indians have been educated almost wholly in English and cannot think or work freely in any other language. Indians have a natural aptitude for mastering English, and many Indians can speak and write it with exceptional grace and charm. English has become a part of the national character and habit of mind to such an extent that, as Mr. Munshi has pointed out, it belongs as much to India as to the country of its origin. India cannot do without English—it is necessary to enrich her ideas and her native literatures and languages and to enable her to make effective outside contacts in order to exchange not only goods but also ideas with the rest of the world. India cannot isolate herself from the world and hope to be a great nation at the same time.

## THE "FREE THAI" MOVEMENT

*By a Special Correspondent*

**I**N connection with the evacuation of Chinese troops from Burma across Thailand, now in process, the following background information gathered during a recent visit to Chiangmai, the second largest town in Thailand, and situated less than a hundred miles from the Burmese border, may be of interest.

It appears that the so-called Kuomintang forces in Burma are made up of three or four different groups with a total figure put differently between 12,000 and 15,000 men. The groups are: some 2,000 Chinese troops of whom about 1,000 are the remnants of the former 93rd Division of the Chinese war-time army (most of the men are said to be from Canton), and another 1,000 Chinese troops said to be mostly from northern China around Peking.

The bulk of the alien forces in northern Burma are made up of men from Yunnan, China's southernmost province, who, under the local princes, fought their way south in opposition to the new Chinese régime. Some of these groups have their families with them. They probably began to infiltrate into Burma in 1949. Racially, these men are not Chinese but very much akin to the Thai. In fact, they are called the "Big Thai" or "Thai-Luein." They were part of the feudal system existing in Yunnan before the Chinese revolution, and when the princes decided to leave Yunnan it was natural that their men would follow them. One of the Thai princes from Yunnan had recently been in Chiangmai. He reported that he had some 500 men and quite a number of women and children with him across the border in the neighbouring Shan States of Burma.

All reports available in Chiangmai—and there is quite a lively traffic over the border despite the mountainous and inhospitable character of the land and the lack of com-

munication—agree that the armed bands from China now operating in the Shan States are getting on well with the population; they, unlike their predecessors, the regular Chinese forces during the war, do not as a rule live on the land since they make a good living by trading opium from Burma in Thailand.

The racial affinity between the people who live in the Shan States in Burma, in the adjoining Yunnan and, to the south, in the northern part of Thailand, is of the utmost importance. There are 1,080,000 people of Thai origin in Yunnan and the 1,250,000 Shans are also considered to be racially very close to the Thai. At some time in the past all these people had the same script—the old Thai alphabet, now almost completely replaced by the standard Thai alphabet in northern Thailand, though the old Thai alphabet is still known to some of the older generation. The language differences are only of a dialect character and not serious enough to prevent people from understanding one another.

When the "Big Thai" from Yunnan arrived in the Shan States, they appear to have been welcomed by the local population with great sympathy, and in turn the Thai from Yunnan may have behaved much better than they might have done otherwise, since they felt that they were not really in an alien country.

Existing racial affinities have also acquired considerable political importance. Exploiting the idea of a reunion of the Thai scattered in these parts of the world, a "Free Thai Movement" has come into existence in Yunnan. Its propaganda is carried over several radio stations operating from Yunnan. These radio stations appear to be quite powerful, since they are reported to interfere with transmissions from Singapore and Ceylon.

Opinions are divided among the Thai in Thailand as to whether the former Thai Prime Minister, Mr. Pridi, is the brain behind the "Free Thai movement." In Thai domestic politics Pridi, at first cooperating with the present Prime Minister, has been for many years past the outstanding opponent of Field Marshal Phibul Songgram. In Chiangmai it is said that Pridi was in Yunnan in September and that he is due to return again this month.

The "Free Thai Movement" is headed by a president under the name of Chao Kuan Sin (the Shan version of this name would be Chaong Khan). No names are known of his government which apparently has no executive power. Fifty men from Thailand and eight women are said to have joined the "Free Thai." Sixteen thousand Chinese troops are reported to be stationed in Chelly (Ching Hung, in Yunnan) and 8,000 local Thai are to be recruited in Yunnan.

Roads across the frontier, never very good, are sealed in theory but in practice there is a good deal of traffic going to and fro. A moderately good road, now said to have been improved, leads from Chelly across the border into the Shan States to Keng Tung (Ching Tung) and from there to

Chiangmai in northern Thailand. A moderately good road connects Chiangmai with Bangkok. According to information current in Chiangmai, the local airport at Chelly in Yunnan (used as a springboard for war-time attacks on Thailand) is being considerably expanded and given a new concrete runway.

The Burmese complain that supplies of arms and a number of troops and instructors have been sent by the Chinese Nationalists to Burma via Thailand; the Thai princes from Yunnan and the Shan States speak about the danger of Communist infiltration; much play is made by a number of people with the Shan movement for independence and alleged antagonism between the Shans and the Burmese, with the Shans said to be driven by despair into the Communist fold.

The evacuation from the Shan States is now proceeding. From all accounts, it would appear that the 2,000 troops who have agreed to be evacuated are the remnants of the war-time Chinese forces, whereas the "Big Thai" for understandable reasons prefer to stay near their homes rather than go to far-away Formosa.

## THE FRIENDLY ISLES

By J. W. Goodwin

THE Coronation crowds, and many others in Britain and Ireland to whom she endeared herself, recognised Queen Salote of Tonga immediately as one of the most human personalities in that cavalcade of dignity and splendour. She was just as natural when she was hostess to Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh on their way to spend Christmas in New Zealand—natural and yet regal, every inch a queen, all 75 of them.

One of the world's tallest women, Queen Salote is ruler of its smallest kingdom. This last independent monarchy in the Pacific is a group of some 150 islands 400 miles south-east of Fiji. Fewer than 40 of them are inhabited; some are only reefs, pausing places in the restless migrations of the birds; some, like Tin Can Island, are shaken by volcanoes; some, like Falcon Island, sometimes not be found at all. The total land area of the group can therefore be only roughly stated as about 270 square miles.

Beautiful as any tropical islands can be, the Friendly Islands are yet more enchanting when seen from the air. There are wide mirror-like lagoons protected from the slow Pacific swell by palisades of palms on the encircling reefs. There are islands that enclose lagoons, and lagoons dotted with islands. There are jagged crescent peaks, still darkly menacing, and there are reefs that seem to slumber like a basking shark, but where the coral never ceases to grow.

Captain Cook called them the Friendly Islands because of his reception there, but they did not continue so. At the turn of that century three of a party of missionaries were martyred there, and the islanders were distracted and decimated by raiding war parties, island feuding against island, till a remarkable Polynesian warrior unified Tonga in 1845. He could trace direct descent from a chief at the time when Ethelred was being unready about the Danes, for the Polynesians, with no written records, had raised the memorising and transmission of genealogies to an exact science.

When this King Tubou became a Christian, he took the name of George in honour of Britain's George III and his consort that of Salote for Queen Charlotte. The names have recurred in the

Tongan Royal Family ever since; his great-great-grand-daughter is Salote—pronounced as with a double t and an acute accent on the e.

When the queen was born in 1900, in the same year that the kingdom voluntarily sought protection under a treaty which limited British rights and powers, Tonga was already a modern, even a model, Christian state which welcomed missionaries as other islands welcomed traders—and then curbed the "body-snatching" by any one sect of the converts of another.

From there at the age of 10 the future Queen went to school at Auckland, New Zealand, where she soon established herself as a good cricketer. The game is so popular in Tonga that it was once necessary to legislate that the islanders must spend a certain minimum time working, and when Salote visited Britain last summer she made a point of seeing the Australians play at Lord's.

Like Queen Victoria, she succeeded to the throne at the age of 18, and like her had an able consort, Prince Tungi, who was for many years her Prime Minister as her elder son is today. Like our own Queen, she is the official head of the church, the Wesleyan Free Church of Tonga, but with only 50,000 subjects, she takes a more active part in administration. She has even been film censor and once banned a film starring the elder Douglas Fairbanks because she considered that his light-hearted way of tipping people out of the window or off the roof was a bad example for the Friendly Islands. However, Polynesians are not prudish, even when Methodists, and the Tongans can still divide their films into two main classes—"kiss-kiss" and "bang-bang."

Film censorship is now entrusted to Crown Prince-Prime Minister Tungi, in one of his other capacities as Minister of Education. When he visited Britain two years ago, he paid particular attention to farming matters because he is also Minister of Agriculture.

With Privy Council, Cabinet, and Parliament combining in one chamber the elected members and representatives of the hereditary chiefs, the constitution has been transplanted from the United Kingdom without suffering the usual exotic mutations.



It is one of the many examples of the Polynesian genius for combining the best of both worlds. Thus at native ceremonials the Queen goes barefoot or wears sandals and Tongan clothes made of *tapa*—the material made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry which survived better than many others the soaking during the Coronation procession. To open Parliament, she wears European clothes with high-heeled shoes, long robes, decorations, and crown.

Despite her dignity and matriarchal sense of duty, she regards the crown—a European symbol with no native equivalent—with a certain refreshing irreverence. It is no palace secret that more than 20 years ago her eldest son wanted to play with it; she agreed, but found later that some of the jewels were loose in their settings and decided to send it to an Auckland jeweller. When the Queen next wanted the crown for the opening of Parliament, a cable was sent to New Zealand requesting its immediate return. The reply came that the crown had been sent several weeks before.

Finally a Customs official reported that a sealed petrol tin had stood unclaimed in the office on the wharf for several weeks and was getting in his way. Could it be removed?

"Have it opened before disposal," came the instruction. A tin opener was obtained and there, carefully packed, was the crown.

There is a magic pumpkin quality about the incident which is proper to a kingdom with a capital named Nukualofa or "Land of Love." But how else would you pack a crown for dispatch on a small trading ship to an island near the line where the days begin, to a remote kingdom which proclaimed its neutrality during the Franco-Prussian war?

This aloofness was not repeated during the Pacific War. Tonga had already rejected Japan's expansionist overtures and decreed that Japanese could stay only six months in the islands. During the war it trained a defence force of nearly 3,000—some of whom were decorated for service in the Solomons—presented two Spitfires to the RAF, and raised £100,000, or £2 a head from people who seem to have few money worries only because they have so little money. In recognition for this assistance to the Protecting Power, the Queen was created Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire. During the recent visit, Queen Elizabeth bestowed on Queen Salote the Grand Cross of the Victorian Order.

## AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN

*By Alan Barcan (Newcastle, Australia)*

**D**URING the course of 1953 Australians have become aware that Japan is once again an active neighbour in the Pacific. The year opened with the arrival of the first Japanese Ambassador to Australia. It closed with Japan taking its dispute over pearling rights in the waters to the north of Australia to the International Court at The Hague.

The period immediately following the end of the war (September, 1945) was one of relative vacuum in Pacific affairs. China was divided by civil war, Japan was defeated, the USSR was no threat (the cold war was some two years off). Britain was no longer a dominant factor in the East, and America was the only strong power in the Pacific.

It was this situation which permitted the Australian Government to attempt a strong line in foreign affairs. In 1944 an Australia-New Zealand Pact had been signed for post-war collaboration. In 1945 and 1946 Australia made an effort to lead the "small power" bloc at the United Nations, in opposition to the "Big Five." An Australian was given command of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan (at the beginning of 1946 Australians constituted 9,000 of the 36,000 troops; at the close of 1947 Australians contributed nearly 8,600 of the reduced total of 16,000 BCOF troops), and an Australian was the British Commonwealth representative on the Allied Council in Tokyo.

The outbreak of the Cold War in 1947 transformed the background to Pacific affairs and changed Australia's position in the Pacific. The small powers *versus* big powers set up in world affairs melted away. In 1947 the Chinese Communists initiated their more radical programme (the September, 1947, agrarian reform programme) and started on the path to their 1948-49 victory. In 1947, too, the United States initiated its policy of Japan. ("We must

push ahead with the reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia—Germany and Japan," said Dean Acheson, 8/5/47.)

The vacuum in the Pacific was disappearing.

The return of Japan as a positive force in world affairs was reflected in the reappearance of that country as a factor in Australian trade. In 1947 Japan was formally opened to private trade. In 1947-48 Australian exports to Japan were worth £A2.5 million. In 1948-49 they increased to £A7.4 million, in 1949-50 to £A24 million, and in 1950-51 Japan was Australia's fourth largest customer, taking £61.7 million of Australia's exports. Japan is now Australia's second largest customer.

Japan's main purchases were wool and grain. In 1950-51 Australian imports from Japan were £15.3 million. They were all in the essential category and included iron and steel, cement, cotton goods, silk, etc. Japan normally has an unfavourable balance of trade with Australia.

Japan's adverse balance of trade with Australia in the post-war period was the product of two circumstances—import restrictions and the lack of a local market in Australia for Japan's manufactured goods. Even before the war Japan's balance of trade with Australia was habitually adverse.

The import licensing scheme introduced by the Australian Government in March, 1952, had, of course, included Japan as Japan's international financial transactions were based on the US dollar, and Japan was a "hard currency" area as far as Australia was concerned.

The reversal of US policy regarding Japan, which was initiated in 1947 and accelerated after the Korean fighting started, culminated in the September, 1951, Peace Treaty. This Treaty was ratified by the Australian Parliament in



February, 1952, and initiated a new stage in post-war Australian-Japanese relations.

For a start, the Federal Government, in accordance with article 6 of the treaty, arranged to complete the withdrawal of Australian troops within 90 days of ratification (some elements were to remain in connection with the Korean War).

Article 5 permitted Japan to have a navy, army, and air force. Australians were not particularly happy at this. "Australia," said Mr. Spender, when signing the Treaty at San Francisco, "would . . . have wished to see included in the Treaty some limitation on Japan's right to rearm, on the range and composition of its defence forces, on the extent of its shipbuilding capacity, on the manufacture of atomic weapons and on other similar or related matters." In the light of events since 1945, he considered the Treaty as good as was ever likely to be achieved.

Article 9 of the Peace Treaty provided for negotiations between Japan and the Allied Powers so desiring for the regulation or limiting of fishing on the high seas. But the Japanese "jumped the gun," and a pearling fleet arrived in the Arafura Sea in June, 1953. This fleet was given permission to operate in a specified area for the rest of the 1953 season without licence. Pearl fisheries negotiations broke down when the Japanese fleet came closer to Northern Australia than had been agreed, and when the fleet notified its intention to take a tonnage of shell which Australia considered excessive.

The Federal Parliament promptly put through a Pearl Fisheries Act (September, 1952) proclaiming Australian sovereignty over the continental shelf—the area around the Australian coast to a depth of 100 fathoms. In this area pearl fishers could operate only with a licence, making them subject to Australian control and Australian conditions.

Renewed concern over the defence of Australia's North, expressed in parliamentary debates during October, 1953, bore a close relationship to the rearmament of Japan and the reappearance of Japanese pearling luggers along the northern coastline. A position reminiscent of that of 1938 and of 1913 seems to be reappearing.

Once again the Labour Opposition is accusing the

Government of failure to defend the North adequately. Once again the Government denies the truth of the allegation, while at the same time reminding Australia that in reality it is impossible to guarantee defence of the sparsely populated North. Lord Kitchener had first promulgated this truth in 1911 when he had argued that there were only a few villages north of Brisbane and that their defence need not be undertaken. The 1938-39 "Brisbane Line" strategy reflected the same view—north of Brisbane (and west of Adelaide) there was to be no serious opposition to any invader. If the enemy once reaches Australia's coastline, says the Government in 1953, then the war is already lost.

In 1913 Australia depended on Britain's Treaty of Alliance with Japan and the British navy. In 1938 she depended on the British navy and Singapore. Today she depends on the American navy and the ANZUS Pacific Pact. This Pact was Australia's price for agreeing to the remilitarisation of Japan.

Reviewing Japan's rearmament for "Self-Defence," the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 29/9/53 probably sums up majority Australian feeling as well as may be:

"Sooner or later circumstances would have compelled her to rearm, irrespective of American or other desires. Where her rearmament measures, once fairly started, will stop, and to what uses she will eventually put her 'Self-defence Forces,' are questions that Australians, among other Pacific peoples, may ponder with some foreboding."

The threat is not only military, but also economic. Alarm has been voiced at the likelihood of Japanese competition in the Australian market. "Australia is wide open to an attack on her market by Japanese traders," stated a spokesman of the Associated Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia in September, 1951. Then came import restrictions and the deferment of Japan's application to join the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. But from October, 1953, restrictions on Japanese goods were considerably eased (in order to allow the Japanese to adjust their adverse trade balance); and in 1953, too, Japan's provisional entry into GATT was approved.

Economically and politically, and (through Australia's discriminatory immigration policy) even socially, relations between Japan and Australia have returned to something like their pre-war importance.

## THE AUSTRALIAN PEARLING INDUSTRY

By G. G. Allen (Sydney)

THE recent decision of the Federal Government of Australia to extend the limit of their territorial waters has aroused considerable opposition in Japan. This was only to be expected as the move was essentially aimed at controlling the activities of Japanese pearlers in the waters north of Australia. But the final repercussion may be less specific and may come from a much wider area.

The detailed proposal extends the national control to include the "continental shelf," and this is to be defined

by the line of the 100 fathom contour. Around most of the Australian Continent this does not amount to a claim of staggering dimensions nor of especial economic value, and there is little likelihood that there will be serious opposition to the move so far as the east, south and west coasts are concerned. However, to the north this "shelf" widens out to embrace the large island of New Guinea, approaching closely to Portuguese Timor and to Dutch and Indonesian territory. Some friction between rival powers in this area

can easily be envisaged, where national sentiment is particularly sensitive these days. But the brush with Japan has other origins.

Before 1939 Japanese divers were widely employed in pearl and trochus fishing and the industry was lucrative to both Japanese and Australian interests. Indeed the activity was such that considerable areas in the Arafura Sea were over-fished to a degree that threatened the future of the industry. The war provided opportunity for the beds to recuperate, but further exploitation at the pre-war rate would inevitably again threaten the continued existence of the industry. The Japanese, eager to re-establish their pre-war prosperity, have been impatient to resume the fishing, and indeed beat the gun, in the shape of an Australian-Japanese fisheries agreement, and appeared off the northern coast before a settlement of differences had been achieved. This they followed up by overstepping the limits finally agreed upon between the two governments, with the result that the Australian Government took the above-mentioned steps to protect their interests.

The Australian position is not simple, nor does it correspond to apparently similar situations elsewhere, as for example the exclusion of British trawlers from the waters off Iceland last year. The northern waters involved are bordered by the Australian continent to the south and by Papua and Dutch New Guinea to the north. Much of the area may therefore reasonably be claimed as an Australian sea. Certainly Japan can have no claim other than a general one to freedom of the seas. Further, such an industry as pearling requires regulating and controlling through a system of inspection, etc., if the harvest is not to be ravaged for a rich, but short-lived reward. Australia has taken some steps to put this industry on a sound commercial basis, and the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland can look forward to a significant and regular income from this resource. Since 1947-48 the value has undoubtedly risen considerably, and, although perhaps not of mammoth proportions, yet this contribution to the pro-

duction of these northern regions of Australia is significant. In this vast area of land, one-third or more of the continent, the population is small and scattered. The whole of the Northern Territory containing only 15,884 persons in 1952, the development of the Tropical North as it is commonly called is now increasingly important, to increase primary production, to strengthen security and to justify the white man's occupation of this country. Of course, the discovery of uranium and other minerals will provide the chief impetus to these movements, but no activity is so small that it does not merit some attention.

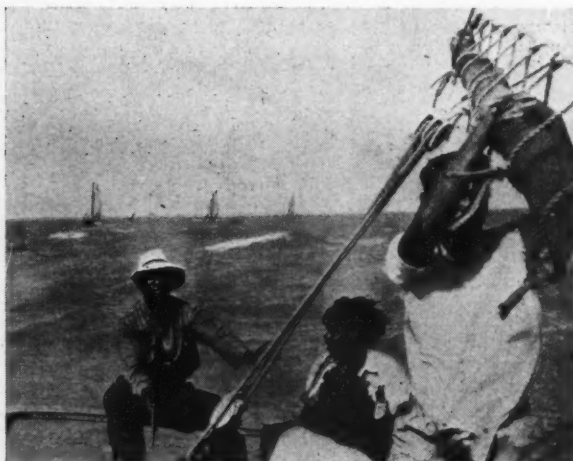
VALUE OF FISHERIES, 1947-48

	Pearl shell £A	Pearls £A	Bêche- de-mer £A	Trochus shell £A
Queensland ... ..	218,900	—	500	18,120
W. Australia ... ..	196,365	1,294	—	609
Nor. Territory ... ..	60	—	—	—
Total ... ..	415,325	1,294	500	18,729

But perhaps the mention of uranium and of security provide the most potent reasons for the desire to control the northern waters. Japan was a very real enemy in the late war and truly Australia felt the dragon's breath on her neck. Australians today are among the least happy people at the prospect of a revitalised Japan, and certainly they do not welcome unconditionally any Japanese activity so close to Australian shores as the pearling fleets are operating. The awareness of the newly found wealth of the Northern Territory, and its potential commercial and strategic value to the country, serve only to intensify the determination to preserve Australia from the dangers of foreign infiltration, an art which Japan exploited so ruthlessly in the past.

The trouble for Australia may, however, yet be extended, though possibly indirectly. Indonesia, our unpredictable northern neighbour, has indicated her strong views on Dutch New Guinea and perhaps by implication on the Australian controlled territories as well. Although Indonesia has no direct interest in this fisheries dispute, yet the opposition of "Western" and Asian interests in this case could, though it is to be hoped that it will not, be developed into a nationalistic propaganda line by a vindictive party. Australia's relations with Asia, though not noticeably strained, could hardly be served by such a development.

Finally, the exact nature of the Australian action in regard to pearling activities should be noted. It is the intention to issue licences which will restrict the amount of shell taken, the areas of operation and certain other matters affecting operational practices, and will provide for regular inspection. In effect, Japanese pearlers seem almost certain to be excluded from the most productive areas, and this, combined with current proposals to train natives from some of the islands off the north coast as divers, might be interpreted as a warning to Japanese interests that their continued activity in this area is likely to be of limited duration, unless they can successfully oppose the present legislation.



Australian pearlers

## ASIAN DIPLOMATS IN LONDON

## B. G. Kher

**B**AL GANGADHAR KHER, India's High Commissioner in London, is a man of deceptive simplicity in speech and manner, and looks younger than his 65 years. Foreign observers often discount his weight in Indian affairs, probably because he has not been spotlighted by the world press, like some of Nehru's other able lieutenants. Nevertheless, he is part of the granite base of the Indian state and diplomacy on which others strike the sparks.

From 1937 onwards, Mr. Kher was the undisputed leader of the state of Bombay, with 30 million people, the most advanced of the states in the Indian Union. He was Prime Minister of Bombay for eight years, 1937-39 and 1946-1952, and had the best-run administration in India. Bombay is a land of financiers, industrialists, militant trade unionists, as well as sharks and racketeers of all kinds, yet Kher came through it all without a stain on his good name. For many years he also had a place of honour and influence in the Congress. An ambassadorship was therefore no prize for a national leader of his stature; he was persuaded by Nehru to come to London solely on the ground that his services here were required by the national interest.

The High Commission in Britain, with a staff of nearly 1,200, is the largest Indian establishment outside India. Many thousands of other Indian nationals, engaged here in business, the professions or as students, also look to the High Commission for their contact with India and for advice, guidance or assistance in one form or another, directly or indirectly. Millions of pounds are spent annually through this mission in payment for goods and services, in salaries, pensions, scholarships, and the like. This huge set-up did not work quite smoothly in the first few years of independence, owing to many unaccustomed factors, and was often severely criticised in India. But Kher has already since July, 1952, in the first fifteen months of his incumbency, earned many commendations for his successes from the Government of India.

On the administrative side, reorganisation and efficiency have been his policy; much has already been accom-

plished, and more is on the way. On the diplomatic side, he has introduced a note of quiet assurance.

First impressions made by Mr. Kher in spite of his ever-courteous and friendly approach to all, were disappointing. His long, rambling, impromptu speeches (a custom in India—most of Nehru's speeches, even on important state matters, are "unscripted") tended to bore

Western and Western-minded hearers. He has since learned to prepare his speeches, which are now short, pointed with a central theme, and often spiced with humour. It was also feared that being a "Gandhiite," he might lend a flavour of Hinduism to India House—a fear to which regular prayer-meetings at his home in Kensington Palace Gardens gave some colour. But secularism has remained in supremacy. He declares that 25 years ago he publicly welcomed a Hindu-Moslem marriage in Bombay, and continues to do the same. He sees no reason why in a family father, mother, son or daughter should not each be of a different religion, if they wish—one a Hindu, the second a Moslem, the third



a Christian, the fourth a Buddhist. Religion, he says, is after all a personal matter, and Indian society is tolerant.

In the context of Indian politics Mr. Kher is a Conservative, as he quite frankly admits. But abroad it is not always appreciated that the Right-wing Congressmen of India accept a national programme far in advance of anything the Western Social-Democrats or Labourites have yet achieved, or even, many of them, accepted as desirable. Kher, the Conservative, is strongly in favour of a welfare state in India, and more, of progress towards not only political, but economic democracy. He is also one of Nehru's staunchest supporters, thus exposing himself with Nehru to the same accusation, in South Africa and America, of being a Communist in foreign as in domestic policies. Kher is, therefore, of the Right wing only in the Indian political setting which clamours for a political marathon in every field, or by the standards of the Eastern bloc countries.

To understand this, one must remember that Kher



regards himself as a constructive worker, and has enjoyed himself most when building up something. He has been a popular leader and social worker, and the founder of many humanitarian organisations. In one capacity or another he has been actively associated with service to the untouchables, the aborigines, children, organisations for legal aid to the poor, rescue homes for girls, and so on, each demanding warm-hearted humanitarianism. In politics, nationalism coloured feelings and actions. He was named after Bal Gangadhar Tilak—the “father of Indian unrest” and predecessor in national leadership to Gandhi—and he became a devoted worker and leader in the Congress Non-Cooperation movement—for which indeed he suffered imprisonment four times. He says he never expected to see India independent in his lifetime. When independence came in 1947, it was the fulfilment of his life’s work. Now

with a new chapter opening in the country’s history, containing possibilities and developments that had not entered into his calculations, he is humble enough to acquire knowledge of a new political geography and diplomacy by study and practice. He is satisfied to see his country flourish without bias for or against any “isms.”

Kher is by no means without revolutionary fervour, even apart from his lifelong struggle against British imperialism. Even now, he says, were he a young man he would go to Africa and fight together with the Africans against colonialism and racism. No one who knows Kher can doubt his sincerity. His future plans? When he is released from his present post, he says, perhaps in two or three years’ time, he would like to devote himself to study and perhaps writing. He has a scholar’s bent, and is looking forward to indulging it when he retires.

## Letters to the Editor

### INDIAN TROOPS IN KOREA

Dear Sir,—

I was pleased to see your references to the Indian troops in Korea in your December editorial. Most of the free world has nothing but praise for the competent and fair manner with which Lieut. Gen. K. S. Thimayya, Indian chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, is handling his gruelling job in Korea’s neutral zone.

The White House announced on October 12th that President Eisenhower had expressed to UN General Assembly Madame V. L. Pandit his “great appreciation” that “India had been willing in the interest of peace” to assume the difficult NNRC chairmanship, and he “particularly mentioned the reports he had received of the exemplary conduct of the Indian troops in the discharge of their duties as custodians of the prisoners of war who elected not to be repatriated.”

Mr. Arthur H. Dean, Secretary of State Dulles’ special representative at the pre-political conference talks at Panmunjom, said on November 19th: “India as chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and through the presence of her custodial forces in Panmunjom is now directly contributing to the stabilising of the armistice in an important and able way and is humanely and nobly carrying out one of the most difficult missions ever entrusted to any nation at any time.”

But South Korean President Syngman Rhee charged on November 25th that “Indian actions . . . play into the hands of the Communists,” that “the free world runs grave risk in trusting” India, and that South Korea would “take action that appears appropriate” against India if the truce were not “faithfully observed.”

The specific charges (as reported by the United Press) made by Dr. Rhee do not conform with the known facts:

1. *Charge*: “Indian soldiers came to Korea ‘armed to the teeth,’ although none of them had fought against the

Communists in Korea.” *Fact*: Paragraph 2 of the NNRC’s terms of reference says, “The arms of all personnel provided . . . by India . . . shall be limited to military police type small arms.” No violation of this provision has been reported by either side.

2. *Charge*: “They have shot to death several helpless anti-Communist prisoners and wounded many.” *Fact*: *New York Times* correspondent Robert Alden reported from Panmunjom on November 8th: “Critics point to the four prisoners who have been killed by Indian guards. But in view of the difficult situation and the turbulent, fretful state prisoners are in this figure is considered small—far less than the number killed in a comparable period under United Nations Command control.”

3. *Charge*: “They have forced prisoners to listen to Communist political agents, ‘even when the prisoners were insulted and threatened.’” *Fact*: Section III (“Explanation”) of the NNRC’s terms of reference requires all POWs to listen to the explanations, but force has *not* been used to make them attend these sessions. It is precisely India’s *refusal* to use force—backed up by the Swedish and Swiss NNRC members—that has caused the present tie-up in explanations.

4. *Charge*: “They have permitted long explanation sessions.” *Fact*: At a press conference on November 6th, Gen. Thimayya called the long sessions “inhumane,” said he thought no sessions should last over two hours, and predicted the talks would break down for good unless they were shortened.”

5. *Charge*: “They have ‘charged the prisoners with murder, for which there is no evidence except the word of the Reds.’” *Fact*: Paragraph 7 of the NNRC’s terms of reference requires it “to exercise its legitimate functions and responsibilities for the control of the prisoners of war under its temporary jurisdiction.” Obviously the NNRC is obligated to investigate any reports of violence. There is no evidence that its investigations have been unfair.

6. *Charge*: "They permit the Communists to broadcast 'lies and threats' to the prisoners." *Facts*: No explanations were held on November 2nd specifically because the Indians rejected the Communists' demand for mass broadcasts to the prisoners. Later the Indians did allow limited ones, but only to those POWs scheduled for talks on a specific day.

7. *Charge*: "They helped the Reds rig the explanations, making it easy for a prisoner to choose communism and hard to choose the other course." *Fact*: Paragraph 8c of the NNRC's terms of reference says: "All explanations and interviews shall be conducted in the presence of a representative of each member nation of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Committee and a representative from the detaining side." Moreover, paragraph 14 of the September 20th regulations enables these observers to "bring to the notice of the chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission or its subordinate body, at the end of each explanatory session, any matter which may be construed as violation of the terms of reference." Paragraph 21 of these rules provides for separate exits in each enclosure; the POW can choose either one.

8. *Charge*: "They announced they would turn the matter of unrepatriated prisoners back to the belligerents for arbitration." *Fact*: It is true that Prime Minister Nehru and Secretary of State Dulles have expressed divergent views on this matter, but mere disagreement does not indicate pro-Communist intentions.

9. *Charge*: "At the United Nations General Assembly meeting, the Indians have 'questioned the evidence of Communist atrocities submitted by the United States'." *Fact*: Indian delegate V. K. Krishna Menon told the General Assembly on November 11th that he refrained from voting on whether to debate the atrocities issue because he felt it would be "totally improper" to do so in view of India's NNRC rôle. He specifically said his non-participation should not be considered opposition to freedom of discussion or a "lack of revulsion" against atrocities, whoever committed them.

Dr. Rhee, it would appear, would do well to acquaint himself with the facts before making such irresponsible, unwarranted attacks against a nation which is doing much for the cause of world peace.

Sincerely yours,

"VERITAS"

Washington.

#### JAPANESE SHIPS IN LONDON

Dear Sir,—

The issue of EASTERN WORLD for November, 1953, gives, on page 42, a picture of the "Asakirisan Maru" and states it is the first Japanese ship to berth in England since the war at London docks on March 20th, 1953.

In fact, actually the first Japanese vessel to berth in London docks since the war was the Nippon Yusen Kaisha m.v. "Heian Maru" in August, 1952.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W.1.

CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE

# ASIAN ANNUAL

1954

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## FROM ALL QUARTERS

### Graft Law in Ceylon

Following the example of India and Pakistan, a Bill seeking to stamp out bribery and corruption was introduced in the Ceylon Parliament last December. The Bill, which was put forward by the Prime Minister himself, aims at a comprehensive clean-up of public life and covers Members of Parliament, the public services, the judiciary, local government officials and employees of corporations and other public institutions. The Attorney-General is given wide powers under the Bill to direct and conduct the investigation of all allegations of bribery. Persons found guilty of this offence will be liable to heavy fines, imprisonment up to a maximum of 14 years and disfranchisement. The Bill is the result of widespread agitation in the country and has been hailed as "a landmark in the legislation of independent Ceylon."

### Library for Singapore

A free public library is to be built in Singapore. According to a Unesco report, the Lee Foundation has offered to share the expenses, which are estimated at \$250,000, with the Singapore Government. The library will be fully representative of the languages and cultures of the inhabitants of Singapore, and will contain books in English, Chinese, Malay, Hindi, Urdu and other Oriental and European languages. It will eventually form the nucleus of a public library service which will operate in city and rural areas throughout the Colony.

### Malacca Report

The 1954 Budget of the Malacca Settlement Council provides for a total of \$10,107,310. The largest expenditure is on education, for which \$4,702,005 has been set aside.

The Settlement Financial Officer, Mr. A. H. Robson, said that this year's Budget was not only reduced to a maintenance level but for some items it was even less than that. He added that in view of the financial state of the country, allocations to State and Settlement Governments from Federal funds had been reduced by \$18,000,000 (compared with last year), but the percentage reduction for Malacca was the smallest of all the States and Settlements.

The Resident Commissioner, Mr. G. E. C. Wisdom, in his 45-minute Budget speech, referred to last year, the fifth year of the Emergency, as one fraught with anxiety and effort because, coupled with the Emergency, there had been a price recession in rubber and tin, the two main exports and revenue-producing industries. The full effect of this recession had not yet been felt and it was therefore necessary to be very careful in assessing the eventual outcome of events. Mr. Wisdom, referring to the Emergency, said that conditions in the Settlement of Malacca were better than anywhere else in the Federation. Forty-one terrorists had been eliminated—18 killed, 21 surrendered, two captured and five wounded. There had been no casualties to Security Forces and one civilian, a Chinese, was killed during the year. Mr. Wisdom also announced that the target date for the Malacca Settlement Council Elections was 1955.

### Machines Made in North-East China

More than 320 types of machines were made in China for the first time in the North-East during 1953. Designed along Soviet lines, the new machines are said to be highly efficient and many have already been put into mass production. They include intricate metal cutting, forging and pressing machines such as high speed lathes, universal milling machines, radial drilling machines and five-ton steam hammers, some of them completely controlled by automatic devices. The biggest crusher turned out in Mukden is capable of crushing 500 to 800 tons of mineral ore and can

automatically separate impurities from mineral ores. The 6,000 kilowatt water turbine generators, the 20,000 kilovolt ampere—40,000 volt, and 13,500 kilovolt ampere—110,000 volt transformers, turned out by the North-East electrical machinery plant last year, contributed to the completion of the giant projects at the steel centre of Anshan.

Outstanding among the new machines produced are a 24-row tractor-drawn sowing machine, capable of sowing 2 hectares an hour, five hundred ton tug boats, modern rolling stock, big ventilators, 60-ton self-dumping trucks, cranes and up-to-date drilling equipment. The successes achieved by the machine tool industry during the first year of the first Five Year Plan are an indication of the rising technical level of China's engineering industry and a good foundation for its future development.

### Gandhi Memorial in Washington

Details were recently given by Mr. Emanuel Celler, the US Democrat and member of the US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, of the proposed Gandhi Memorial in Washington.

Mr. Celler, in a recent interview with the *Hindustan Times* in New Delhi, indicated that the Memorial would be completed in a year or two and that funds were being collected for this purpose. The US Government has given an eight-acre plot for the memorial on a hill overlooking Washington.

The memorial will be situated in an Indian-style landscape planted with Indian shrubs and trees. The memorial building will have a library containing Gandhian literature, pictures and sculpture. There will also be a museum of relics and documents on Gandhiji and on Indian culture.

Mr. Celler recently paid a visit to India during his tour of Middle Eastern countries and India to study refugee problems. He has shown particular interest in India and was the author of the Bill which permitted Indian immigration into the US and allowed Indians to become American citizens. His major interest now is the study of refugee problems in India and with this in view he visited many settlements and camps to see what the US could do to help.

### Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

On January 5th, the Pakistan Government ordered the release of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the 63-year-old leader of the Khudai Khidmatgars (Red Shirts), who had been in detention in a Punjab gaol since June, 1948.

The Pakistan Government's order coincides with a similar decree issued by the North-West Frontier Province setting free all its 45 political detenus and removing restrictions on movements of others, including Dr. Khan Sahib, former Chief Minister of the NWFP and brother of Ghaffar Khan. The confiscated properties of all political prisoners is to be restored.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was one of the three members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly elected from the NWFP in 1947. Along with other members, he took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly. He still continues to be a member of the Pakistan Assembly. Popularly known as Badshah Khan, or the "Frontier Gandhi," he was arrested in Peshawar in June, 1948, on a charge of indulging in subversive activities and championing the cause of Pakhtoonistan. Demands for Ghaffar Khan's release had been made by various political parties in Pakistan.

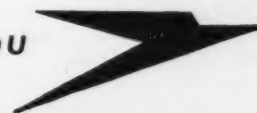




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## BOOKS on the

Asia and Western Dominance by K. M. PANIKKAR (*George Allen & Unwin, 30s.*)

The achievement of independence in the late '40s of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, and the revolution in China, have introduced new factors into the pattern of modern history. Contemporary opinion is still primarily pre-occupied with the power relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as the outstanding feature of the post-war scene, yet from the long-term point of view, the emergence of Asia may well carry a far greater significance.

Hence the appearance at this time of Sardar K. M. Panikkar's book, *Asia and Western Dominance*, raises the greatest expectations. He is known to a wide public as an outstanding Indian scholar-statesman, and has been Indian Ambassador to the successive Chinese Governments of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, and now holds still another key Indian ambassadorship, that in Cairo. He also shares in the regard paid by the world to the Indian peace diplomacy. The presentation of Panikkar's interpretation of four and a half centuries of relations between Asia and the West is therefore looked upon as a political event.

Unhappily it must be said at once that the expectations aroused are to a large extent disappointed. The book deals with the period of European domination of Asia, the "Vasco da Gama epoch" as the author designates it, which he limits to 1498-1945. This is surely a rather arbitrary limitation, since European domination of Asia has by no means ended yet, though most certainly it is undergoing radical changes.

In separate sections, the author describes the relation of India, China, Japan and the other "lesser countries of Asia" with their European conquerors during the different phases of the "epoch." Like Professor Toynbee, the author equates civilisations with religions, a view generally discarded by modern historians. It leads him, among other things, to devote the largest section of his book, Part VII, consisting of eleven chapters, to the activities of the Christian Missions in Asia. The measure of their success—at any rate in the religious field—hardly seems to warrant so much space.

A certain arbitrariness in the selection of events and their interpretation detracts from the book's value as a history or as a key to the understanding of the new Asia. There is, for example, no mention, though the period covered extends to 1945, of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the effect of their impact on Asian minds, even more than on their bodies. Again, except for the narrative of Japan's aggression against China between the two world wars, there is no indication that Japan's imperialism was just as suspect to the rest of Asia as was the Western brand. Panikkar stresses that, unlike any other great power, neither Czarist nor Communist Russia has ever been an aggressor in Asia. He also records that the October Revolution made a profound impression there. But he fails to illuminate its significance in present and future developments in that part of the world.

It is disconcerting to find the author minimising the creative-ness of Asia and giving to Western influences the credit for all kinds of cultural and political developments that westerners themselves would hardly claim. The abolition of untouchability in India, or the growth of great cities in Asia, are among the results of European contacts in Panikkar's view!

With so great a penchant for the West it seems hardly surprising that Panikkar looks with gloom on the future of Asia. Though he recognises that the West, since it does not possess the art of peace, has forfeited all claims to leadership, he reveals little confidence in the ability of Asians to do better. Thus, he

# FAR EAST

suggests the possibility, even the likelihood, that democracy, economic structure, political organisation may disappear from Asian civilisation after a period.

Nowhere does the book give any insight or feeling of the great strides Asia has taken in the last few years, nor of the faith felt by Asians in the increasing influence of their continent on world affairs. In the first major contribution by an Asian to the consideration of Asia's position this is a serious omission; the Asia of today is not explained by Panikkar's survey of the past 450 years.

However, having made these strictures with regard to interpretation, it is only fair to say also that the book is abundantly rich in factual information. It is certain to be regarded as a "must" among reference books on East-West relations.

K. P. GHOSH

*My Polynesia* by JACQUES CHEGARAY. Translated from the French by Robin Graham. (*Arthur Barker*, 15s.)

*Tigerland and South Sea* by OLLE STRANDBERG. Translated from the Swedish by M. A. Michael. (*Michael Joseph*, 18s.)

M. Chegaray paid his first visit to Tahiti to make a documentary film. During his stay there and in the neighbouring islands he did much more than the average wandering journalist-photographer—he made a host of close friends among the people of the region.

*My Polynesia* is the record of a second visit paid to the island to get more material for his film and journalistic work. Much of the book consists of delightful little stories of local characters whom the author had got to know well and the whole builds up in a most matter-of-fact manner into an attractive picture of places we like to dream of as an island paradise but which are in their own way very much of this world with all the problems that being of this world involves.

M. Chegaray has some interesting remarks on the social problems of the Polynesian Islands, the old evils like cannibalism as well as the newer ones brought by the war, drink and promiscuity. He came into close touch with missionaries and administrators and noted what they were doing to make the islands healthier and happier.

*Tigerland and South Sea* is a traveller's tale, I feel, in more than one sense. It is described as the story of two years' travels in the Far East and the South Seas and the author is a Swedish journalist. In the course of his wanderings he claims to have done all manner of wonderful things and to have undergone pretty well all the unusual experiences that ancient mariners might have written about except to perform the rope trick and discover a flying saucer. He did a fire-walking act, he played Robinson Crusoe for a spell, he fraternised with cannibals who could not understand why so much human flesh was being consigned to the ground in Korea, he saw a baby being born in public. In Macao he watched a Chinese gourmet gulp down live shrimps, the blood and the eggs of a snake disembowelled before his eyes, the brains of a young live monkey and baby mice dipped in honey. No doubt the travelogue went down well in Sweden where they do not have questions in Parliament about colonial administration, but all this in English is likely only to irritate readers who recall the outcry caused by a tale of live monkey brains at a Singapore feast. The more so as the photograph Mr. Strandberg shows his readers of the Chinese menu card contains the names of all the dishes—including the monkey—typed in what looks like Swedish! The dust jacket informs us that the volume has the Book Society's recommendation.

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**The Sikhs** by KHUSHWANT SINGH (*Allen & Unwin, 16s.*)

Buddhism in the fifth century before Christ sprang from a King's son's spiritual revolt against the priest-craft of Hinduism. Sikhism, in the 15th century A.D., also derived from Hinduism, but its founder was the son of a humble official in the Punjab (the village of Talwandi near Lahore): Nanak the first of ten Gurus. Nanak, like Gautama, began in long meditation and much wandering. Unlike Gautama, he lived at a time when Islam and Hinduism in India throve side by side and, indeed, when the Mogul Empire was stretching its power across the sub-continent under Babar and Hamayun. Buddhism eventually found its way to Tibet, China, Japan, Siam, Burma and Ceylon, but its hold over India, despite the great prestige given to it when Asoka reigned, relaxed. Today, in the country of its birth, it is said to number only a bare million adherents. Sikhism, as conceived by Nanak, was to be a synthesis of Islamic and Hindu doctrines, thus foreshadowing the dream of the tolerant Akbar, the son of Hamayun and the greatest of the Mogul Emperors. Akbar failed; Nanak, in a lowlier mission, taking inspiration from Sufism, which rejected the idea of conversion by the sword and adopted the Buddhist theory of Nirvana and from the Hindu Bhakti movement which ignored the barriers of caste, succeeded.

So acceptable was he personally to Hindus and Muslims alike that when he died in 1539, Sardar Khushwant Singh recalls, "his body became the subject of dispute.

The Muslims wanted to bury him, the Hindus to cremate him. Even to this day he is regarded in the Punjab as a symbol of harmony between the two major communities." Unhappily the experience of Guru Nanak's successors under the later Mogul Emperors did not encourage belief in the stability of tolerance. In 1606, only a year after the death of Akbar, the fifth Guru, Arjun, who was an outstanding organiser and completed what eventually became the *Adi Granth*—the Sikh bible—was executed at Lahore. This martyrdom changed the complexion of the Sikh movement; it became a militant organisation to which the final touch was put by the tenth and last Guru, Gobind Singh, whose father, Tejh Bahadur, the ninth Guru, defying the fanatical Emperor Aurungzeb's order that he should accept conversion to Islam, was executed at Delhi in 1675.

Gobind Singh was ten years old then. It is said that from his father he received the injunction to arm the Sikhs. After preparing himself for the leadership which had come upon him so suddenly he gradually developed his policy and in 1699, when he was about 33 years of age, he assembled his followers and formed them into the "Khalsa" or "pure" brotherhood. The ceremony prescribed drinking out of the same bowl, adopting the suffix "Singh" (lion) and an undertaking to observe the five "Ks": *kesh* (uncut hair), *kanga* (comb), *kacchh* (short drawers), *kara* (steel bangle worn on right wrist) and *kirpan* (short sword). Rules of conduct, enforcing abstinence from alcohol and tobacco among other things, were also laid down. This completion of the religious

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facet of Sikhism, as Sardar Khushwant Singh describes it, turned an "innocuous band of pacifists into armed crusaders." Those who accepted it became the Khalsa; those who did not, yet remained Sikhs, were called Sahajdharis ("those who take time").

This book is noteworthy as the first important contribution by a Sikh to the historical study of the religion and the remarkable people professing it. Hitherto the recognised authorities have been Cunningham and Macauliffe, to both of whom Sardar Khushwant Singh pays tribute. Still it is obviously desirable to hear the story from a Sikh's standpoint, especially as, unhappily, in modern times controversy has affected its presentation. The outcome is a scholarly and succinct review for which gratitude must be tendered to the accomplished author.

The Sikhs have often been called the most widely travelled of any section of the population of the Indian sub-continent. They have a peculiar adaptability to strange surroundings and a versatility whether as farmers, soldiers, administrators or craftsmen. They have the dash and stubbornness of the doughty warrior and the temperamental subtlety which wins for them affection tinged with respect. It is impossible to read this book without having much sympathy with them. In Moghul times they derived from a creed which had for its object the creation of a comity of religions. They were driven ultimately to take up the sword and by their expertness in its use to rule a kingdom which under Ranji Singh spilt over into part of what is now China. When the disastrous clash with the British came after Ranjit Singh's death their fidelity to what they regarded as a just government took them into close comradeship with the British in the grim days of 1857—an affair which, to quote Sardar Khushwant Singh, "was, as a matter of fact, largely an affair of the Bihari Hindu and Mussulman with a sprinkling of Mahrattas." In the Indian Army their customs and, above all, their scriptures were kept alive and the comradeship-in-arms seemed unruffled.

Political controversies and, indeed, sharp differences among the Sikhs themselves darkened the period between the two World Wars, and then when it was found that the promised transfer of power over the sub-continent from British to Indian hands could be made only on the basis of partition, the Sikhs suffered the crushing blow of finding that the arbitrament of that partition cut through the heart of their homeland. Of the tragedy of those first days of the new régime Sardar Khushwant Singh writes with admirable reserve. At the end, in surveying the future he comes to what many may think to be the surprising conclusion that there has been an increasing tendency for the Sikhs to remerge into Hinduism and that, before the century closes, "the Sikh religion will have become a branch of Hinduism and the Sikhs a part of the Hindu social system." From a Sikh of his standing this view cannot be ignored, although it may arouse regret in those who recall the glamour which once surrounded the kingdom of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, and the glory of Sikh arms in two World Wars.

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**Viet-Nam Fights for Freedom** by J. STAROBIN (*Lawrence & Wishart, 2s. 6d.*)

The author, an American correspondent, gives here an account of what he saw and learnt during the few weeks he spent in the company of Ho Chi Minh and his supporters. He was naturally infected with a strong feeling of sympathy for the Viet Minh, but it is a pity that his narrative is not more objective and comprehensive. There is a story to tell — of Ho Chi Minh's long fight over more than 30 years for self-government for his people, of the acts of omission of France towards her colonies and the abject collaboration of the men of Vichy with the invaders, of the struggle of the underground first against the Japanese and later against the French, of the fight with arms captured from the other side and with supplies from factories cleverly hidden in the jungles. That makes all the more regrettable the author's use of catch phrases and a language that one seems to have heard from other propagandists.

B. E. H. F.

**Destination Chungking** by HAN SUYIN (*Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d.*)

Following the success of the author's *A Many Splendoured Thing*, the publishers have now issued a new edition of her earlier autobiographical account of war in China and of her own personal life. Although human stories are always fascinating, if as well told as this, nevertheless the pictures of wartime life have been superseded many times by others equally horrible, equally saddening, therefore this new edition has today little more than a documentary interest.

K. N. C.

**History of the Deccan.** Vol. 1, Part VIII, Fine Arts (*Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press, 15s.*)

The Deccan is particularly rich in Buddhist art. It was visited by Asoka's Buddhist missionaries, and the Andhra kings, the Deccan's earliest rulers, were patrons of Buddhism. Under the Andhras the economy of this region was extremely prosperous, and this accounts, to a large extent, for the numerous Buddhist viharas, or rock hewn dwellings for Buddhist communities, which have survived



in some numbers until today, although little remains of the numerous open air stupas which were built at the same time. After the collapse of the Andhra kingdom in the third century A.D., which eventually led to the ruling by the Rashtrakutas in A.D. 757, the cave temples reached their height of artistic achievement with the temples of Ellora and Ajanta. Finally, the decay of Buddhism and the rise of orthodox Hinduism led to departures from traditional forms of architecture and decoration, although the artists and builders were reluctant to surrender entirely their old forms and traditions.

Both by its text and by the carefully chosen illustrations, this book gives a comprehensive account of the incredible artistic achievements of this part of India. The author shows insight into the spiritual interpretation of paintings and sculptures and succeeds in conveying the essence of known and little-known masterpieces.

S. N. GUPTA

**There Shall Be Peace** an Anthology selected by  
N. GANGULEE (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs. 7/8)

"Look, Mum! Jim's written a naughty word!" says the little girl in the Giles cartoon, when she sees her little brother writing "Peace" on the wall. In spite of all the abuse that has been heaped on those who talk of peace and call themselves Pacifists, the fact remains that peace is a great ideal and a basic principle of every religion, and Dr. Gangulee performs a useful service for his readers by putting together a number of famous pronouncements on peace from Erasmus to Einstein and from Gandhi to Unesco Reports.

B. E. H. F.

**Gita Meditations** by T. L. VASWANI (Poona: Gita Publishing House, 9s.)

Believing as he does that the Gita stands for freedom and social justice, for the brotherhood of man, fellowship of nations, conquest of economic slavery and creation of a new life, Prof. Vaswani sets down a number of texts from the famous sacred poem and proceeds to give us his reflections on them. He says to the youth of India, "When you have read and closed Shaw and Marx, consider if it is not time for you to open the Gita."

B. E. H. F.

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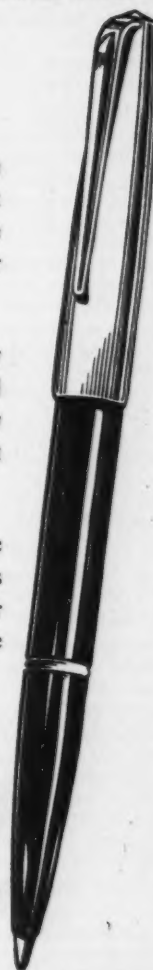
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**Minds in Movement. A Quaker Study of Asia and the West**  
(Gollancz, 2s. 6d.)

Here we have a strong plea for greater understanding and cooperation between the West and the lands of Asia whose ferment, in the words of Nehru, is the ferment of "minds in movement." The authors are Hallam Tennyson and a group of Quakers with first hand experience of modern Asia and they give in outline an account of the historical background of present changes in Asia, the problems of individual countries there and the scope for cooperation in both economic and non-economic spheres. They appeal for a striving after "One World" through a concerted effort to build up the economy of countries in Asia which hold more than half the world's population living in dire poverty. The British Commonwealth has made a good start as the first partnership of Asian and Western countries with roots of loyalty and fellow feeling.

In a pamphlet prepared under Quaker auspices it is natural to expect some reference to the bridge between East and West in the realm of the spirit. All the great religions of the world had their birth in the East but this reviewer feels that it is rather an over-simplification to persist in regarding the East as not having the strictly logical approach and the individualism which is ascribed to the West.

The best service the authors of the pamphlet have done to the cause of international understanding is the stress laid on the scope for immense variety in man's ability to form different types of society. I feel that America needs to be reminded of this and to note the warning of the authors that "to believe that Communism or democracy, as the West understands these terms, are the only forms of Government open to Asia today may be a dangerous simplification." They point out that Asian countries do not differentiate between democratic and totalitarian so much as between independent and subject peoples, and unlike many in the Western world do not assume Communism to be synonymous with Soviet Imperialism. Asians do not want to be "saved from Communism"—they regard such patronage as insulting. Even if Asian countries reject Communist methods, they will be able to approach Communist countries without doctrinaire hostility and suspicion but sympathetic to some of their aims and ideals—a fact which can be of great value to world peace. Pakistan has potential value as a bridge between the West and the Muslim world and that Asia may even lead Christianity nearer to unity is suggested by the United Church of South India.

FARRUKHSIYAR

**Window on China** by RAJA HUTHEESING (Derek Verschoye,  
12s. 6d.)

During the past three years British and American diplomats have staged several attempts to loosen ties of friendship between India and China. The increasing stability of the Chinese People's Government has had a magnetic effect upon international politics—attracting the Asian peoples, and repelling Western diplomacy. The very favourable view which the Indian Ambassador in Peking, Sardar Pannikar, gave of Chinese events was a continuous irritation to London and Washington. President Truman indicated his concern at the pro-Chinese trend in Indian and Asian opinion when on January 13th, 1951, he wrote to General MacArthur that the second major objective of the Korean war was to deflate the "dangerously exaggerated political prestige of China."

In an attempt to redress the balance, the West has made the most of red terror, anti-Christian, "we're for freedom" themes which are the stock-in-trade of political and psychological warfare. The most recent of these attempts comes from Mr. Raja Hutheesing, an Indian journalist who went to China first as a semi-official visitor in 1951, and in the following year for an Indian News Agency. Mr. Hutheesing seems from the start to

have stepped out on the wrong foot. He clashed with Sardar Pannikar who described him as an "undesirable person" and thereafter remained out of step with everyone and everything. In short, he regarded the Chinese revolution as a colossal flop. Unfortunately the author's material does not support his sweeping statements and hypercritical eye. "I realised," he says, "that communism was the new God of China, the Holy Dragon," and then goes on to justify this pre-conceived view by introducing with zest such Embassy trivia and anti-communist jargon as will delight anyone who does not wish to know what makes post-Kuomintang China a major world power. Mr. Hutheesing gives the key to his attitude. He relates how a Chinese businessman greeted him when "he learned that I too belonged to the National Capitalist class of India." The writer reveals his fear of being embarrassed, and perhaps out of pocket, should Indian social reform take China for its prototype.

To convince us that Chinese industry is stagnating, Mr. Hutheesing reports that coal production is not yet sufficient to allow exports, as during the pre-war period. It is common knowledge that the Kailan Mining Administration is exporting high grade coal to Japan in return for industrial machinery. One wonders why both Senator McCarthy and Raja Hutheesing have both ignored this barter which surely is a violation of the United Nations embargo.

Because Mao Tse-tung has not been puffed up into an infallible newspaper hero, Mr. Hutheesing concludes that he is out of touch with the masses; Chinese acceptance of Russian technical aid has thrown her into the arms of the "Russian bear"—conversely had Russia given no aid to China we should have been told that Russia wanted to ruin New China. What glad news to learn that the Chinese are contemptuous of their Russian mentors whom they call "Big Noses." Mr. Hutheesing did not stop long enough to know the epithet applies to all brands of Caucasian nasal curvature! *Window on China* might well have been written from press clippings. It conveys nothing of the physical enthusiasm, construction, breathlessness, noise and movement of changing China. A new morality, made possible by economic reform, and which has caused petty theft and prostitution to disappear from the great cities; the introduction of a public audit system; the work of the alley ("hutung") associations, the basic social and political unit in China; afforestation; the workers' housing estates, have all been missed.

Mr. Hutheesing can think only in terms of the past. He would have liked to see restored in China a Confucian Golden Age that never existed for the masses; he hoped that Chou En-lai—the Foreign Minister—would say something "which would carry with it the wisdom of Confucius and Buddha."

"The Iron Wood tree has bloomed" is a phrase commonly used when Chinese speak of New China. But Mr. Hutheesing worships the dead wood of yesterday and has no feeling for the flowering of a new era.

NICHOLAS READ-COLLINS

**F.B.I. Register of British Manufacturers—1954** (Iliffe, 42s.)

This 26th edition of this important handbook lists all the members of the Federation of British Industries and contains a foreword by Sir Harry Pilkington, President of the F.B.I. Information about the work of the organisation, its aims and progress are given, a classified Buyers' Guide and cross-indexed addresses, as well as detailed sections on Trade Associations, Brands and Trade Names, etc., are included in its 952 pages.

**Yearbook of the United Nations, 1952** (UN, \$12.50; 90s.)

The sixth of a series of annual volumes produced by the UN Department of Public Information to provide a complete account of the activities and achievements of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. Every possible aspect and every available figure is provided giving a complete picture of the vast field of international collaboration.

Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution by SIR IVOR JENNINGS, Q.C. (Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d.)

It is an excellent thing to be jogged out of one's self-complacency at times and Sir Ivor Jennings, who played an important part in the framing of a constitution for Ceylon, when invited to give three lectures at the University of Madras, took the opportunity of making the lawyers of South India think twice about the historic document produced by the Indian Constituent Assembly. These lectures, slightly expanded, are reproduced in this very provocative little volume which a great many of India's thinking men and women ought to study carefully.

The lecturer was dealing with the longest written constitution in the world, an enactment produced after a careful study of all the written constitutions of other countries and much unwritten constitutional practice, and he saw fit only to pick out certain aspects of the constitution which seemed to him most open to criticism. To laymen the world over the document seemed a masterpiece of drafting and thoroughly in accord with modern democratic notions. Whether it is elastic enough to cover the future needs of the country, whether it is unduly inflexible, whether it is largely irrelevant is something only an expert on the working, rather than the wording, of constitutions can understand.

Commenting on the rigidity of the Indian Constitution, Sir Ivor Jennings feels that the makers of the constitution did not seriously face the question of deciding what rules of law should be enacted as fundamental law. They were more inclined to consider what rules of law were desirable in independent India and to include as part of the constitution rules of law which were very much in their minds at the time of attaining independence but which should be part of the ordinary law of the land. One of the examples cited by the author is the question of a national language.

There is much in the Fundamental Rights section of the Constitution that the author finds either badly worded or pointless. Article 19, dealing with freedom of speech and expression, is full of hidden traps and likely to be fruitful of lawyers' fees. Comparing the Indian and the American Bill of Rights he finds the latter a "marvel of clarity and conciseness," yet he doubts whether the "United States would not have prospered more . . . if it had not had to carry the Constitution on its shoulders." In effect, though, while the Americans trusted their judges to protect their liberties by applying a few simple propositions, the Indian Constituent Assembly showed no such trust in its judges and tried to formulate not only the general principles but also some of the details. "The Indian Bill of Rights is based on no consistent philosophy. A thread of Dicey's nineteenth century liberalism runs through it: there are consequences of the political problems of Britain in it; there are relics of the Congress experience in opposition to British rule; and there is evidence of a desire to reform some of the social institutions which time and circumstance have developed in India."

On the whole Sir Ivor notes a tendency to cover too much ground in the Indian Constitution and to leave nothing to the individual discretion of units of the Indian union or to the courts of law. This might in some measure be because the former constitutions of India were embodied in lengthy Acts of Parliament, but such Acts could always be easily amended by that Parliament and were not regarded as fundamental law. The Indian Constitution had to be something different and because of the difficulty of making changes in it it ought to be as short and simple as possible. "If nobody except the Constituent Assembly can be trusted to make laws, why not make the laws once for all and enact a one-clause Constitution, 'Nobody shall change the laws of India'?"

BERNARD FONSECA

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## Report on Indo-China

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An able, lucid situation report based on a recent and not unexciting visit to that beautiful, troubled land. "As always, Mr. Newman is both informative and entertaining. For all the suffering produced by the war it is clear that there is still abounding vitality among Indo-China's peoples. Mr. Newman's camera as well as his pen persuades us of that."—Daily Telegraph. Lavishly illus. 18/-

ROBERT HALE

James Brooke of Sarawak, by EMILY HAHN (Arthur Barker, 21s.)

The first "White Raja" of Sarawak might not have been a great Empire Builder in the Victorian tradition, but he was none the less a very remarkable personality and an outstanding adventurer in a period of great adventurous enterprises. It is only a short time since Sarawak was taken over by the Colonial Office, but how many people not connected with the East know anything of the unusual story of the Englishman who had a state of many thousand square miles—the size of Scotland—thrust upon him by a Sultan whom he had helped in fighting pirates as an inducement to stay in Borneo? Yet the story of Brooke is a link in the long chain of events which have associated Britain with important territories in Malaysia. Brooke was not a seafaring man—in fact, he was the son of a judge in the service of the East India Company and but for a series of events which led him to resign his commission might have ended his days as a distinguished military servant of that Company.

The running of an Eastern state was not by any means easy and Brooke had a big task on his hands. Not only had piracy and head-hunting to be dealt with and many reforms to be inaugurated, but Brooke had to fight on several other fronts. He had to find money for development and in trying to get it made the mistake of choosing as agent a man who was later to turn on him and be instrumental in the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the status of the raja who happened to be a British subject and held a consular appointment in Borneo as well. There were intrigues to be dealt with in the East and in Britain and in addition Brooke had the problem of keeping his own relatives happy and cooperative, especially when the appearance of a natural son of his caused disquiet among his legitimate kinsmen.

A very readable volume and one with considerable topical interest.

D. S. P.

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## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE negotiations which have been taking place between the Japanese Government and officials of the US Mutual Security Agency have not had an entirely smooth passage. By far the most controversial condition with which the Japanese are expected to comply before they can qualify for American aid is that armed forces must be built up, or more precisely, that there be an expansion of the existing National Safety Force. This has caused alarm among many people in Japan, since it is contrary to the post-war constitution, written under the direction of General MacArthur, which includes clauses specifically renouncing further war potential.

In an article called "Constitutional Amendment for Defence," the *Oriental Economist* (Tokyo, October, 1953) lays out what it alleges to be the views of the different political parties on the issue. There has, since the article was written, been an agreement between the Liberals under Mr. Yoshida and Mr. Shigemitsu's Progressive Party about "defence" expansion, but each party has its own ideas about how to get round the constitution. The Progressives, says the article, hold the view that forces for "defence" will not infringe the terms of the constitution, which includes nothing about forces created to ward off possible aggression. The Progressives, it seems, "adhere firmly to the tenet that constitutional amendment is not necessary for defence." The Liberal (Government) Party, says the *Oriental Economist*, takes the opposite view. But the explanation of their view seems only to show that in the long run they agree with the Progressives. Creation of armed forces, say the Liberals, would violate the constitution, but expansion of the present Safety Force would not. Not until US troops withdraw from Japan would there be any need to worry about offending the constitution.

Whichever way one looks at it, the military resurgence of Japan is not welcome. "It is of interest not only to the Japanese alone but to all Asians that Japan's future progress should be in the context of peace . . .", says *Thought* (Delhi October 17th, 1953) in an editorial note. The paper quotes from a book on Japanese economy by Dr. Tsuru that "Japanese economy is still of a kind which can make . . . rapid progress in the circumstance

of war or cold war," and warns that it would be well if most Asians took note of that fact, and also of Dr. Tsuru's further point that "what is Japan's strength in the context of war is precisely her weakness in the context of peace."

In the realm of the spiritual, Father H. Van Straelen has a fascinating article in *Rythmes du Monde* (Bruges, Belgium, 2nd issue, 1953) on the problem of making Christianity assimilable to the Japanese. He says that western evangelism and Latin demonstrativeness in religious matters are useless in Japan. Silence and dignity are what appeal. On the practical plane the author remarks that western ecclesiastical architecture and interior decoration are antipathetic to the Japanese religious sense. He illustrates his points with many excellent photographs.

In a talk on Indo-China, by Colonel Melvin Hall, a retired US air force officer, to the Royal Central Asian Society which is now reported in the society's journal (Vol. XI, Parts III and IV), a point was made on the appeal Communism has for the Asian peasant. Along come the Communists, said Col. Hall, and ask the worker in the fields if he likes the moneylender or the big landlord. The answer is, of course, no. Well then, say the Communists, you agree with us—we will rid you of these fellows. "We have not at the present time," said Col. Hall, "a ready answer." Until the west has an answer, or an offer as attractive and dynamic from the peasant's point of view, the Communists will gain a supporter every time. At the end of the talk, when questions were asked, no one had anything to say on this important point, yet General Gracey received applause for a speech in which he said that when he went to Indo-China just after the end of the Japanese war and was welcomed by the Viet Minh (then genuine nationalists) he "promptly kicked them out."

The organ of the ILO in Geneva, *International Labour Review* (Oct.-Nov., 1953), has another excellent article on productivity. In the state of Uttar Pradesh in India an experiment in rural development is going forward, and S. K. Jain describes how some of the difficult problems of introducing improved agricultural techniques are being overcome in the Etawah district by the use of simple and comparatively inexpensive methods.

An article by Professor A. K. Vora in *L'Universo* (Florence, Italy, Oct., 1953) with the provocative title of "Can the New State of Viet Nam be counted among the Economic Powers of the Far East?" is well worth reading.

## YEO THE VIREO AND THE FIRST FROST

by S. C. Wu (Hong Kong)

HIGH up in the peach tree I tried to hide my nakedness, having just met the falcon—and the window head-on. Would I still measure one cigarette long, I wondered, if my neck has telescoped like a corkscrew? Unable to say, I merely hung on to the tapping peach bough; the peach bough was tapping on the casement window of the Honan Hawking Club. Its middle pane of glass was pierced by a large jagged hole, and only a moment ago Yeo the Vireo was on the other side of that jagged hole.

In other words, I was in the ancient Hawking Club where members lived to invent the craziest bet of all time, while Kublai Khan the early patron smiled down from the wall in his Tartar hunting dress, with a golden eagle perched on one arm.

Though it was taking six scarlet columns to hold up the high ceiling of the echoing Nevermore Abbey, you are only concerned with a small group of those crazy clubmen gathered under the casement window pierced by the large jagged hole, and out of its lower side hung the great tufted falcon by a broken neck. Below the dead, a panting green shape one cigarette long lay where it fell after a last attempt to rise and reach the jagged path to freedom.

No one moved—everyone seemed satisfied for the day. The Mayor gazed down at his lifeless hawk—the high price of indoor falconry held out of season. Coffin Chang realised he had brought off his craziest bet of all, which had offered the longest odds on record, and fulfilled his constant boast of matching ant against elephant, but it was Smiler Soo who broke the silence at last. "A hundred to one!" he whispered, "but after all, we took a chance on the ant."

Suddenly Coffin stooped, scooped the floor and had me up in the middle of his palm. Still chuckling and quivering, he thrust his fat arm out through the jagged hole and placed me accurately on the tapping peach bough. . . .

Presently up in the peach tree I opened my good eye gingerly and passed it over the garden right down to the little hut of poor Tutor Loo, or just about as far as I might limp by easy stages. Job-hunting from window to window was definitely out, I decided, and being a nestling to start with, even if I know what a forest was and where, I could no more find a worm than fly—certainly not all the way back to a certain little cottage on a hill, and drop myself right into a certain fist with fingers soft as petals. I used

to draw in my legs thin as matches, dig into his first, squirm around until every toe was suited and satisfied and his fingers were closed all around me. Suddenly I would lash out like an army mule, kick them open again, then hop out and laugh and laugh.

If I forgot myself at times, the blind man could always see it was a joke—that a bird is intense, sudden and quick.

I knew Tutor Loo was down there inside the hut, but not whether he liked a laugh. I did know he was poor—like me—and beggars can't be choosers. I had no money and you wouldn't believe how far I was from having any, but don't be alarmed. I wasn't proposing to stand on one side of Honan Road and make faces, for people still wouldn't guess I was telling fortunes for one copper—that there hadn't been time to round up the blind man and his little brass gong, not to mention the thick red almanac. . . .

I have had luck. And why should my new boss be any other than just Tutor Loo the lonely writer? We are living in the gardener's shed of Nevermore Abbey which is in Coffin Chang's estate in Honan.

Tutor Loo is either writing or coughing, mostly coughing, and he does both in the iron four-poster bed. We are enclosed in boards, or a giant soapbox. No one ever saw the inside of our home except our landlord Coffin Chang, who must know all about boards and boxes, being the Honan undertaker, that his shed is just one room, the room has but the four-poster bed. But he may not know we are in the bed day and night because I am unable to take off my warm coat to give Tutor a turn in it before he collapsed the four-poster with his shaking. Furthermore, he has a little green hand-warmer that requires no fuel at all. The Honan winter is no joke to anyone, and possibly asthma to a small sleepy bird.

So Tutor Loo leans back in bed under the red blanket, the writing pad poised over a folded knee, but he says the fluffy green hand-warmer is the neatest trick of all, just enough to cheat the thermometer, tip the beam until the editors wake up some day. To mark that date we have the farmer's almanac opposite hanging above the small rattan table. But naturally the Harvard shield would be separate and all by itself, swinging from a long crooked nail driven into the back of the miaowing door—it miaows when opened.

The Harvard shield is the sole proof of Tutor's having graduated in baseball-watching at Harvard, a place almost as old as our four-poster iron bed of exacting workmanship. It has exactly seven rusty uprights to each end to give a meaning to our aerial circus—I was once intended for the stage. I take the stage alone, weaving in and out through those rusty posts, cutting circles tighter and tighter round a small object such as a teapot, or else Tutor's shrinking head. My performance clears the air after the three slow knocks and one heavy dull thud at the door. We peel off the foreign stamps and collect them in a little basket. Now I wish they were pieces of rice; instead, I fatten on a few grains while poor Tutor starves on thousands. . . .

Baseball is a fine game to watch, better to play and best when you are the ball with the final say—I was the ball. When I first arrived on Tutor's window sill, and prepared to clinch the job by suddenly fetching a match, I discovered he had no cigarettes, required no matches, and I had turned round to make a dash for it when he grabbed me in one fist.

When he decided to write a story about a little vireo in the freezing soapbox, I immediately stepped in and became his model, using his warm fist for a platform but keeping my eyes away from the icy Formosan mat covering the bed. You know at times how birds can be still and make fine statues? If I stand up on his palm like a statue, I expect to be given time in the fist afterwards to store up enough heat for the day.

But Tutor simply could not understand that when cold travels one inch I am chilled through and through for the length of one cigarette. Our world is small, and as a bedfellow I respect his foot as much as he would make way for an elephant. If the bird

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By Dr. S. Chandrasekhar

University Professor of Economics  
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story was to be written, I felt that some form of mild protest was being called for.

One morning, as Tutor came to an exciting passage, suddenly I lashed out like a mule, tumbling out to measure my length along the exciting passage, my wing tips enclosing it like a pair of quotes. Tutor was puzzled but not pushed over; suspicious to the last, he raised the body up to shoulder height, looked into my eyes and read my naked soul—even so I was not unready. For the instant his fingers opened out, I felt like a stone and smacked the Formosan mat. At last, I thought, even Tutor saw what an unnatural life would do to a poor little bird. Tutor was utterly crushed, for Yeo the Vireo was grounded and flightless as an ostrich. He sprang out of bed and paced the floor, hiding the corpse in one hand. Suddenly his eyes fell upon the innocent Harvard crest—the sole reminder of Bob Feller and his own skill at baseball-watching. His face began to twitch as he rocked me to and fro, cradled in his warm left hand. Suddenly he hauled back; swiftly I shut my eyes. He whirled his arm and let fly a cannon ball at his old *alma mater*. At the very door of high learning I turned back and sprouted wings. Being the ball, I had the last say—I mean even Bob Feller could not do much harm with a feathered shuttlecock, up against two wings working hard the opposite way like a pair of ballooning parachutes. . . .

I cannot tell you how happy I was being the ball. I do not possess the words, but so happy that I knew no further wants.

For weeks not a soul came to the gardener's shed. The poor miaowing door got stiff with waiting, and to its thin voice of welcome was added a harsh scolding note.

Outside the door there is a suspicious little hole at shoulder height, out of which peeps an inch of rusty twisted wire which ends indoors in mid-air. The wire is so crooked that when pulled it scratches and squeaks along all its length much louder than any bell. Moreover, our visitors merely jerk the door outwards and walk in. I may have misled you—there is a sort of cage for me, doorless, dangling in mid-air and thus safe from leaping cats. It

is my dining room, though the food still comes from the old red coffee can on the rattan table.

Inside the can there may be as many as four sweetened bean-cakes, shaped like four tiny boxes of matches. Each bean-cake crushes into seven teaspoonfuls or one week's ration. That is why it always starts with four bean-cakes every month.

How could we be lonely any more? In the dead of night, I often heard the beating of our hearts that sounded almost like one—one day they nearly stopped beating together when there came three slow knocks—the heavy dull thud never came at all. The small cheque came from a local journal whose editor had once owned a small wandering vireo the length of a cigarette. That day Tutor Loo went to town—taking the small cheque. We spent that evening counting over the packages, including a carton of cigarettes and many other small mercies, though grasshoppers seemed to be out of season. . . .

Next morning early the front door jerked open with a saucy miaow, and in came the gentle bird dealer, followed by his young apprentice bringing a round brass birdcage. In it perched the smallest parrot—nearly too small to be a real parrot.

The bird dealer confessed he had had Polly for two years, during which period she had not uttered a word, bitten three people, but cost next to nothing. Trade was so poor, he said, though he wasn't having to give Polly away, but the next moment the dealer was begging Tutor to accept the parrot in the brass cage and save him the trouble of recrossing the swollen river at so late an hour. Of course Tutor relented and agreed.

Ah Po the apprentice opened Polly's cage and said goodbye by tweaking her ear, so to speak. "All parrots bite a little, sir," Ah Po said, "but they needn't talk, not if they are going to cost next to nothing."

For three days we forgot all about Polly in the round brass cage, glued to the exact middle along the knobby stick, apparently the point of the greatest security. But Tutor said the cage was doing Polly no good. Presently he produced a thick bath towel, a pair of giant steel nippers and a bit of stout wire with which to forge an ankle iron round one of Polly's feet. Tutor had not suspected she was as flightless as an ostrich.

The wire was stout, and beneath the towel her struggles were dreadful while Tutor applied all his strength to the pliers longer than Polly and liable to slip. Yet steel never touched flesh, for the maddened green parrot suddenly knew—just as I did—and went limp. Then, trembling a little, she held out the limb in anxious cooperation. For another week we knew of Polly's presence only by the dainty clipclipping her ankle iron made against the floor.

One night we suddenly woke up. The dark was full of yelping puppies, the screeching monkeys started off every throat in the bird shop. Such a caterwauling lasted until the cock firmly declared the coming of dawn. By then her ladyship was up but neglected, for we were in someone's palace. Her voice thrilled you through as she chided an invisible harem who lisped and cooed. . . . Polly was quite a mimic too.

The once bulky farmer's almanac had been getting thin, like me, while Tutor's left hand scratched the top of Polly's head, and, of course, the great lid of the round coffee can was beyond my powers. As long as Tutor's right hand attended to the new story about a green parrot, Yeo the Vireo forgot that the Honan Hawking Club was crawling with sleek grasshoppers, where Coffin Chang won bets with my "nine lives." Coffin naturally sold coffins to everybody else after having won their money too. They didn't mind, they said, he was bound to get you in the end no matter how fast you can run. . . .

The leaves of the farmer's almanac seemed to be flying off the opposite wall, yet not fast enough to deceive Tutor's watchful eye. It announced First Frost Day in red, when all unhappy birds may hang themselves at the Sign of the Cow, or soon after midnight, from one to three.

With First Frost Day still a week away, Tutor put on his silk-padded long coat and hurried across the big garden to

Nevermore Abbey where Coffin had a telephone. Next morning the little bird dealer came back, with Ah Po in the rear balancing a huge black globe on the top of his head. It was one of those round earthen wine pots with a tiny mouth at the top. Unkind people said of the little dealer that the parrots he sold could never talk because their boss was so dumb.

"The Polly is talking, you say?" the little dealer asked, with a sense of loss, "and how many people bitten too?"

"Never bit anyone—she mimics!" Tutor threw back, with one eye glued to the top of the bulging pot. The dealer glanced at the treacherous Polly and sighed. "It is all very queer, and First Frost Day is bad for trade."

"Go on!" Ah Po howled in disgust. "I kept telling you that Polly was calling names and swearing at the black mynah before it happened—black mynahs make an art of hanging themselves anyway."

Tutor Loo took his face off the mouth of the earthen pot. "It is all smooth inside, nothing whatever to get a neck between," he reported, "though, of course, it may suffocate."

"Go on!" Ah Po snarled, "did you expect to find a noose and gibbet inside? Maybe they only need a tiny pebble, or maybe they simply hold their breath—not that any old animal has the guts to do that."

"What exactly do you mean?" Tutor said gruffly, as Polly vanished to sulk under the bed. "Certainly thousands of animals possess the guts to commit suicide. Take the little lemmings of Sweden and Norway, armies of bobtail lemmings that multiply too fast and eat the earth bare as they chase food across a whole continent for years. But even continents end somewhere and water begins. Then, seeing the water, they realise that by becoming so many so quickly, they have exhausted the vast earth and nature herself. At journey's end one and all, fearlessly they plunge into the open sea."

"Ayah, ayah!" cried the dealer, "and trade is bad enough without tales of the First Frost and little lemmings."

"Blow the lemmings!" Ah Po exploded. "He sent for just one pot; how about the small cocky one leaning against the doorpost?"

"Yeo the Vireo?" the boss laughed. "We'll empty a pack of American cigarettes and drop him inside."

I had barely skipped out of the way when the front door was flung wide open. . . .

Looking up, I stared straight into two glittering black eyes set in a great quivering blancmange mounted on two stumpy legs. Then it waddled in and filled up our gardener's shed—recognition was mutual and terrible.

Coffin Chang had started off his rich fat chuckles and couldn't stop, and trembled in every part, his forefinger accusing the small green shape on the floor that was killing him. But from the moment he saw the black earthen pot, Coffin Chang refused to rest until he had discovered both pot and Polly, then his meaty nose began to twitch. "First Frost Day!" he sobbed, "you couldn't kill Yeo with a sledge-hammer, or the Polly—throw the pot out and I'll insure her over First Frost Day against the Sign of the Cow; any doubt, we'll change sides."

Ah Po knew as much as everyone else in Honan about the Hawking Club, where the queer members invented the craziest bet and either became the Mayor or at least won the Kublai Cup. Today Ah Po was clearly ashamed of his friends who were afraid to win a bet, and the quivering philanthropist never went anywhere unless there was going to be a bet.

Whether Coffin really cheated or not was yet an open question in Honan. But when accused of it, he often came back with that offer to change sides—usually he won just the same. Today it was plain no one cared to win a bet, so Coffin strolled over to the cluttered rattan table and took in the new purchases one by one, beginning from the pair of shining pliers down to the small heap of loose silver.

"It's terrible, money!" he said hoarsely. "Prosperity kills



every joy—but no frost is going to kill the Polly.” Overcoming his emotion, and still quivering in every part, the fat man fell upon his knees beside the bulging pot, into which a great flabby arm disappeared, that began to scour the inside with a clockwise motion.

Suddenly his fingers struck oil; in went the heavy pliers, out of the round pot came the brittle sounds of crockery turning to dust. At this point the little dealer was reminded of the double life of Polly and he told her fat benefactor of how he had cherished and fed Polly for two long years, during which period she bit three people and spoke not one word until. . . . “Then Master Dealer,” Coffin said quick as a rat, “what odds I don’t have Polly talking inside of a month?”

The dealer opened his mouth, and before it closed again Ah Po had seen his chance. “I got a dollar that says what odds I don’t make Polly talk in one week?”

“Ten to one cocky, ten to one you don’t.” A sepulchral voice answered from under the bed. “Gosh,” Ah Po whispered in awe, “then you don’t even require a week.”

The features of Coffin Chang became a complete blank, and he spoke from another world. “Do you know, my boy, why birds are green—green with jealousy? Ha, ha, ha! they love and fight for jealousy, then they all die of jealousy.”

When the rich chuckles permitted, Ah Po darted a look under the bed and plunged. “I’ve still got a dollar that says Yeo the Vireo won’t be dead. . . .”

“Of course not, my lad. Yeo has nine lives, not unless Tutor Loo interferes with the course of nature.” Coffin guffawed and shook like a jelly and added, “but Yeo won’t be here on First Frost Day.”

“The shed is yours, Coffin, not the bird,” Tutor replied thinly, sweeping me up from the floor. “He won’t come back to you, and you are not coming here to steal him back.”

“Steal!” Coffin roared, highly flattered. “Grow up, Tutor. Would I come in advance and warn you to close every window? The fact is you can’t drive Yeo out of the shed with a broom. All right, I’m betting Yeo will be gone without the broom.”

“It’s a pity I am not a betting man,” Tutor Loo sighed. “I pay my rent, which is in seven days—on First Frost Day.”

“But why must you pay me rent? Why insist?” Coffin waived, turning to us for support. “You only have to be sure of something, then I’ll take the other side, any side you don’t fancy—double or quits on that rent, when I come back next week you don’t pay me a red cent if you can produce Yeo the Vireo.”

Ah Po looked on with unshed tears as Tutor relented and accepted the wager, and presently even the pot-bellied philanthropist was lost to view. . . .

Closed windows matter so little in winter. To show how little I cared, I never went near them at all, and yet sunshine and warmth were to become my undoing in an unheated room. In the forest, one bird may snuggle up between other birds and forget draughts and asthma. So in a way I was thankful when the boss stuffed up the cracks, after which he leaned back in bed to put in the final touches before sending off his new story about a green talking parrot, whose head required to be scratched except when she was asleep and didn’t know the difference.

Coffin Chang of course is an old humbug, and I am not green with jealousy. In any case I am far too small to be scratched like Polly, just as pretty Polly is flightless and couldn’t possibly streak across the room to sit on top of the proud Harvard crest—yet much too large to sit in any fist—poor Polly!

All the morning Tutor was not approachable and in another world of parrots, and I was famished. Nothing is impossible, I told myself, and gave another tug at the lid of the coffee can, knowing I was sitting on it too—shivering on top of a red bass drum with all my bean-cakes inside. The boss was busy, the lid was large, and for Yeo the Vireo the future was dark indeed. . . .

I threw a quick glance at the bed, then my beak commenced to tap the lid with swift little strokes. Presently I improved, and

was beating out such a rhythm that brought a smile to Tutor’s face, then more smiles. With each further smile my hunger sharpened, and then my rataplan gained in volume and speed. At last I was thumping the lid with hungry vertical strokes and the effect of a battering ram. Suddenly I stopped and Tutor ceased to smile, for the orchestra had closed with three slow knocks on the miaowing door and on final dull thud.

It was only the postman, but the thud meant something had gone wrong with the parrot story, and in looking for the cause, Tutor’s eyes followed me about until I made myself scarce behind the old coffee can. In Honan, Coffin the landlord was even more dreaded than Coffin the undertaker, I remembered, and if Tutor was still worrying about the rent on First Frost Day, then he had forgotten all about the wager, and that I would be present—as the rent.

In my hurry to remind him, I lost my usual poise and that morning I got the boot; three times in a row I was dropped over the side of the bed. Our floor was unswept and grimy, and you know a vireo needs a daily bath even in winter because he is downy. He gets all gummed up and naked in no time and freezes off, I suppose. Anyway, the devil possessed me that day, so that I leapt in, levered away and dug myself into his fist.

Without a pause he leaned over to drop me back on the grimy floor. Somehow I managed to wriggle free, sprang several inches into the air, and before he knew it, quick as a housefly, I was right back in his fist. Maybe Tutor did not like houseflies, maybe he had forgotten I was the ball, forgotten about Bob Feller and the old Harvard crest, for a queer noise rose in his throat. I expect punishing a naughty vireo is like taking a stick to an elephant. Suddenly he cupped both hands over me and squeezed with all his might without touching me. When I found myself back on the grimy floor, I decided to remain there until I could reappear as the rent and save the old home on First Frost Day. . . .

At dawn the garden was a blanket of white. Inside the soapbox, the night before had been pierced by cries of murder, screams of persons with bleeding fingers or being buried alive in an earthen pot, while the farmer’s almanac continued to announce First Frost Day—what a frightful frost indeed! Polly was in the pot, and Tutor had to sit over it to keep her quiet.

Under the bed, I picked more cobwebs from my face and stood on the other leg. I was not vexed, only all caked up and naked, and if I were a falcon I would have rammed a jagged hole in that window and worn a corkscrew for a neck—of course, there were still those two bean-cakes left.

Suddenly I put down that foot and shook myself out violently. So many things were beyond the powers of a little bird, the lid of a can, the skin of an apple—yet if all the windows in Honan were wide open to welcome Yeo the Vireo, he still couldn’t leave the shivery old soapbox. And Yeo would not be flightless like an ostrich, merely as ridiculous as the dodo, and it all came back to the same thing. . . . There is no feast without a farewell, the last course was served some time ago, the next window had been calling and calling—maybe the highest window of all.

I shook my head, pulled up my socks and stepped out into the frosty day. The author was on the bed but in another world, so that my performance had to be extra smart. I flashed in and out of those uprights around him, streaked across and waved back from the peak of the Harvard crest, then doubled back to cut tight circles round Tutor’s head. Having established my existence in no uncertain manner, I came down to rest beside him on the Formosan mat, upon knees that did not bend to others, yet wobbled an awful lot—perhaps the soapbox was too stuffy with every window closed.

I passed the morning as a statue, but sometime before noon his left hand sank lower and lower on the bed, and even unclenched itself. He howled in astonishment when he found he was holding something in it. Without a pause his eyes travelled the

room demanding a witness to the repeated outrage, then they fell upon the black Harvard shield hanging on the back of the miaowing door.

We had both forgotten to laugh on First Frost Day, but he smiled as he hauled back and whirled the old southpaw. I shut my eyes as he let fly a cannonball at his old *alma mater*. I plastered my wings, streamlining my body to cut through air, plummeting on like lead, taking the straightest course to the last

and highest window sill of all.

There was time yet, but instead of releasing a pair of braking parachutes, I began to think of the two bean-cake too many, and when Tutor opens the tin he would know why.

I arrived . . . there was no pain. Hearing a fleeting miaow, I opened my eyes and saw that someone had just jerked open the front door. From the nearest bough in the garden I glanced back . . . Coffin Chang had come back to collect double the rent.

## CATCHING ELEPHANTS

By K. Frank Feldman

**E**LEPHANT labour is not as cheap as is commonly supposed, but nevertheless it has its advantages, especially in certain backward areas. Unlike tractors, an elephant needs no spares and troublesome overheads such as petrol and oil need not worry operators. A demonstration of elephants "yoked" to disc ploughs and harrows, normally towed by tractors, was recently held in the Naini Tal Terai forest area of Uttar Pradesh. With a special harness made of leather they drew the implements well, both on virgin and cultivated land, and the sponsors of the scheme say that the use of elephants for farm work is a practical proposition.

An elephant costs from £300 to £500 and because of its long life span can be of great use for farming work for at least 30 years. The daily diet of a working elephant in India is about ten maunds of sugar cane, eight pounds of meal and half a pound of ghee. The sponsors are hoping to catch about 200 elephants a year from the roaming wild herds in the forests.

Elephant hunting is an exciting sport and for some a dangerous profession. In Mysore, where there are still large herds, the season starts just after the heavy rains of the north-east monsoon.

An elephant hunt is a big operation and requires an army of 1,000 workers who have to be prepared for three months' toil and constant vigilance. Labour for this task is recruited from the jungle tribes who are familiar with the habits of wild elephants.

The first job of the workers is to dig a V-shaped trench, ten feet wide at the top, eight feet deep, enclosing in all an area of between three and eight acres of forest land. Gates are erected at three points to admit elephants as they are driven past. Near one of these gates a tunnel-shaped stockade reinforced by strong wooden posts is built and roads and footpaths are cleared of timber. This is a huge task and takes up to three months to accomplish. After this, trackers are sent into the forests to locate a likely herd with plenty of young animals which would make good workers. Once located, the drive begins.

Watchers are posted at 100-foot intervals along the surround line which encloses 20 square miles of thick forest. They are assisted by "kumkis" or tame elephants. The principal pre-occupation of the watchers is to keep huge fires burning at night. The route to be followed, having been mapped out by the trackers, the beating party of 100 is briefed. Members of this party carry whirring rattles and backing them up are the "kumkis." The hunt begins. As the herd is approached, the elephants move towards the trench area, and gradually they are driven towards the gate. Perched high up in a tree, the gate man waits for the signal to release the manila rope which holds the gate aloft.

The head of the beaters' gang must keep his wits about him, because it is easy to become distracted by the noise of roaring beasts, the whirring of rattles, the shouting of the beaters, and the glare of the fires. His first concern is the leader of the herd, generally an old mother cow. If she moves through the gate the others will follow and there will be no stampede. Once the herd is past the gate, it crashes down and is fastened.

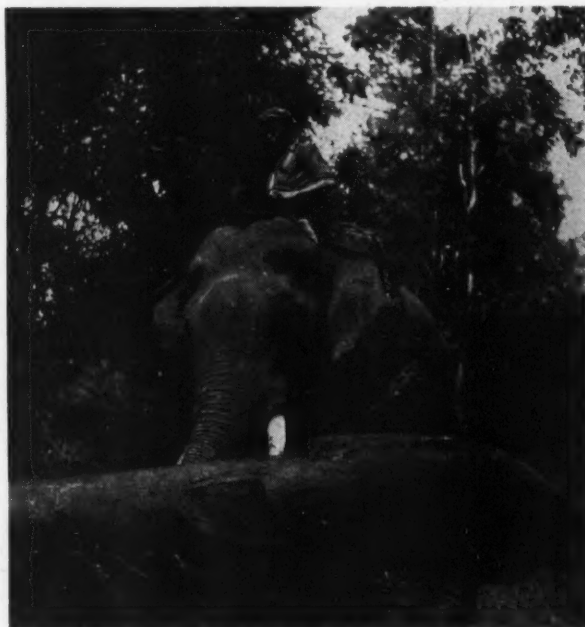
After a few days within the limits of the trench-enclosed area, the elephants are ready for roping in a special stockade. Care has to be taken that they do not crash through the barriers and every

man must be alert to see that they are brought into the stockade, either through the lure of food or by roping.

The most dangerous and thrilling part of the operation begins. The kumkis edge the trumpeting wild elephants back to the walls of the stockade. Mounted on the kumkis, the drivers must keep alert if they wish to stay alive.

Meanwhile the ropers on the ground throw their lassos or ropes to tie the big bulls and the cows down. This takes up to four or five hours, for the elephants are highly enraged and a life can easily be lost as a result of a wrong move.

When the struggling animals are securely tied, the kumkis lead them out of the stockade and out of the trench area into a clearing. After that they are led to the river for a drink. This makes them more tractable; the ropers tie them to trees, allowing them plenty of leeway to move about. It is by no means simple to get a whole herd to this state and only up to 10 animals can be handled in a day. The training and "breaking" is carried on elsewhere. The elephant somehow never forgets the humiliating experience even if he does buckle down to hard work. The villagers return to their homes—if they are unscathed—and count their pay. Sometimes the Forest Department rewards them with free grazing rights until the next *khedda*, or drive.



Elephants are still the only practical "machine" in the dense jungle. (United Nations)

# THE CHINESE THEATRE

By David Parry

**A**CTORS are lunatics, spectators are idiots," runs an old Chinese proverb, but anyone who accepts this dictum must be prepared to find a large percentage of the population mentally unbalanced, for it is an undisputed fact that the theatre has for the inhabitants of China, townsmen and villages alike, a very real appeal. Thus, the classical stage, and to a lesser extent the newer styles of dramatic presentation which have been developed within recent years, all attract enthusiastic audiences in every corner of China, and without the periodic visits of the strolling players the leisure hours of many of the people, particularly those in rural areas, would be uneventful indeed.

In reality, the author of the proverb just quoted was probably a member of the literati, and, as his evident dislike of the stage was shared by almost all other men of letters, existing references to the Chinese theatre in its early days are few and far between. However, it is fairly safe to conclude that singing and gesturing were eventually incorporated in the slow, stately dances performed to music at the religious ceremonies of the remote past, and, if we take the priests and soothsayers of the Chou Dynasty as the first accomplished players, the calling is already perhaps three thousand years old. As yet, of course, the drama as we understand the term must have been quite unknown, but there is little doubt that the skill of the clergy, cleverly used to capture the imagination of the layman, was constantly being developed as time went on, and at length there seems to have come into prominence a class of secular entertainer whose aim it was to divert the nobles and the ladies of the Court. Initially, we may suppose, a high proportion of this fraternity consisted of jugglers, acrobats and the like, but one imagines that the more discerning patrons were later treated to scenes illustrative of life in the palace and countryside, for the most part humorous pieces composed on the spur of the moment rather than laboriously written down.

An extremely interesting subject, the detailed story of the growth of Chinese dramatic art, at any rate up to the end of the Sung Dynasty, is nevertheless really a matter for the specialist, and, turning to the playhouse itself, we find that the theatre in remote farming communities may be nothing more imposing than a temporary platform of timber and bamboo poles, though when the necessary money is available the existing structure is strengthened, mounted on a permanent stone base, and provided with an attractive temple-style roof, the addition of a greenroom enabling the actors to perform their toilet unobserved. As there are no proper seats, the onlookers must bring their own cushions or mats, but it has to be remembered that the townsman, who admittedly enjoys a rather greater measure of comfort, is compelled to purchase a ticket or, alternatively, to outlay a certain minimum sum on refreshments, whereas the costs of the village show are frequently met by some well-to-do family, by public subscription, or out of an appropriate fund.

Broadly speaking, the theatre of the average hamlet is situated either in the market-place or near the main temple, and ground adjoining a house of prayer is also a favourite site in the town, another indication that the drama was once closely connected with religious observance, but this connection belongs to the past. The theatre may be in a semi-dilapidated condition, the newly prepared bill-boards, which give details of the current programme, the names of the stars, and similar information,

contrasting sharply with the sorry state of repair of the establishment as a whole. Inside, however, large windows give ample light during the day, oil or even electric lamps serving to illuminate the proceedings after dark; and the onlookers, though most of them soberly dressed, enliven the scene with their gay chatter, the more prosperous seated before tables immediately in front of the stage, which—almost square, after the Elizabethan pattern—is raised about six feet above the ground and roofed by a canopy supported on stout uprights suitably inscribed. To the astonishment of the European, the tables bear dishes of cakes and sweetmeats, and even the benches of the poorer members of the audience are equipped with ledges wide enough for bowls and teapots, so that all are free to quench their thirst from time to time.

In the olden days the sexes used to be strictly segregated in Chinese playhouses, the women occupying a special gallery while their menfolk, even husbands and relatives, sat elsewhere, and also worth mentioning is the balcony permanently reserved for the use of the gods! In some of the more archaic theatres there was originally no accommodation for women at all, and, while they are now freely admitted, the excessively casual behaviour of attendants and spectators has hardly changed down the centuries. steaming towels, excellent for refreshing oneself during a long performance, flying across the auditorium during all save the most engrossing scenes on the bill. This attitude is, of course, due in part to the inordinate length of the shows, but it is a mistake to conclude that the devotee is treated to only one or two dramas in a programme lasting from the late afternoon until ten or eleven at night, a formidable series of short pieces being the normal fare.

To anyone visiting a Chinese theatre for the first time it may well seem that the entire show consists of a single, almost unending play, and this is partly explained by the bareness of the stage itself, and by the total lack of painted scenery to give a clue as to the setting of the action, so that, with groups of characters entering and leaving with bewildering rapidity, there is plenty of opportunity to become confused. In general, an exquisitely embroidered drop curtain provides a colourful background, and it is from this direction—that is, from the rear instead of from the wings—that the actors make their appearance, the two door-ways, one on the left, the other on the right, again being hung with gorgeous tapestries. The latter, to be accurate, is intended primarily for exits, and it must be added that the space immediately to the side of the left-hand opening is popularly termed the Nine-Dragon Entrance, as it was at this spot that the Emperor Ming Huang is reputed to have directed the orchestra in the 8th century, each performer having to make a brief pause in front of him before proceeding to the centre of the stage. As far as the musical instruments are concerned, these have not changed appreciably since those far-off days, and probably chief among them are the *hu-ch'in*, the high-pitched, two-stringed bamboo violin; the four-stringed, ukelele-like lute, *p'i-p'a*; and the wooden time-beaters, *pan*; while there are several distinct kinds of bells, drums, gongs, and cymbals, not forgetting the curious reed organ comprising a mouthpiece, a pot-shaped wind chamber, and a set of tubes.

Just as there is virtually no scenery to assist the actor, properties, too, are kept as few and as simple as possible, enthusiasts





*The Chinese theatre in South-East Asia is gradually becoming westernised. On this Singapore stage, western decor and even a microphone are being used (Shell)*

arguing that, as it is clearly impracticable to show, say, a mountain or a castle with true realism, their existence should be imparted to the audience merely by the display of symbols—an upturned chair hung with a small painting of a tree-covered hillside, to take the former example, or a banner depicting a massive stone wall and heavy, iron-studded gates. A full list of such devices would require a good deal of space, but there is room to refer to the black "wind banners" which signify an approaching storm; the "water banners," *shui-ch'i*, bearing pictures of fish and waves; and the twin "wagon banners," commonly yellow with black wheels, between which a character walks when he is meant to be riding in some vehicle or other; though if mounted on a horse a cruel-looking whip is brandished instead. Similarly, a man with an oar is at once recognised by the initiated to be in the act of rowing a boat, and there is a whole range of flags reserved for military leaders, while the sight of one or two gaudy silk lanterns being carried across the brilliantly lit stage tells the onlooker that it is supposed to be dark.

Whereas some properties are merely held up for the examination of the audience, some are customarily moved about in a particular way, and when a horseman throws down his whip, for instance, it is because he has dismounted, tethering his steed to await his return. Perhaps the best idea of this intriguing use of conventionalised symbols is to be gained by re-reading a Shakespearean play and imagining how it would be presented by a classical Chinese troupe, and Hamlet, summoned to the Queen's chamber, would presumably discover Gertrude reclining, not on a bed, but before an embroidered satin curtain draped over a bamboo frame, while the demented Ophelia is eventually swathed in water banners to indicate the manner in which she meets her end. The slain Polonius, on the contrary, might depart from our view at a brisk trot, and this is the normal procedure even when some unfortunate misdoer has been formally executed, an attendant coming forward with a bundle done up in red cloth. The chief property-man and his helpers behave as though they were invisible, throwing bits of white paper in answer to a call

for a sudden snow flurry, or passing a cup of tea to an actor who has just delivered a trying speech.

The more difficult parts, so we are told, punish the voice of the player very severely indeed. There are four main types of rôle: males, females, clowns and "painted-face" characters, the last named having their make-up so thickly applied that the result is almost indistinguishable from that produced by a true mask. In contrast to the paucity of scenery and stage properties, the costumes used in a first-rate playhouse are extremely elaborate. Although in the olden days royal personages are supposed to have shared the boards with visiting troupes, the chances of an amateur reaching a sufficiently high standard to compete with present-day professionals is remote. For one thing, the conventions have multiplied out of all knowledge since the times of the Sung and Mings, and while actresses are now returning to the theatre in increasing numbers, their appearance was forbidden from the early 18th century until comparatively recently, so that some gifted players, like their counterparts of the Japanese *kabuki shibai*, have to make an exhaustive study of female deportment in order to fit themselves for feminine rôles.

In reality, there is no such institution as a modern equivalent of the Pear Garden, the school of instruction founded by Ming Huang after the fabulous tour organised by the King of the Moon, but aspiring stars do undergo a period of intensive training from the age of, say, nine onwards, a youth apprenticed to an experienced actor remaining under his jurisdiction for maybe six or seven years before going on to complete his education in one of the juvenile troupes. As well as mastering the host of gestures and symbolic movements, the boy must, particularly if he wishes to take part in the so-called "military" plays, become an acrobat of no mean skill, and speeches have to be memorised very carefully, as there is no prompter to come to the rescue of a performer who happens to forget his lines. As far as the village theatre is concerned, *shên hsi* bands spend much of their time travelling from place to place, and wherever they halt they bring with them a breath of adventure, retelling tales of phantoms and nobles, warriors and courtesans.

### Thai Celebration

By far the largest Asian social gathering in London last month was the reception given on December 5th by the Thai Ambassador and Princess Wongsanuvatra Devakula at the Royal Thai Embassy to mark the King's Birthday. So many British and other guests arrived to join their Thai friends in celebration of the occasion that reception rooms on the ground floor as well as the main reception rooms on the first floor were crowded throughout the evening.

### Indian Population Expert

Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Professor of Economics at the Baroda University and distinguished Indian demographer, is now at the London School of Economics as a Nuffield Foundation Fellow working on a study in Indian Demography. He said that India—the people and the Government—had become aware that her population growth constitutes a problem and jeopardises the realisation of her desire for a better standard of living. Moreover, this awareness has induced a perceptible change in individual and group attitudes in favour of planned parenthood.

### BBC Anniversary

The 21st Anniversary of the External Services of the BBC was celebrated at a reception given by Mr. J. B. Clark, Director of External Broadcasting. The External Services—a continuation of the original Empire Service—now employ nearly 4,000 people on a full-time basis and comprise more than 40 services in different languages with a total of 80 hours daily. At peak period as many as nine separate programmes in seven languages are being transmitted simultaneously. An auxiliary re-transmitting service in Southern Johore, Malaya, has been in operation since 1951 to improve the strength and reliability of the reception of BBC services directed to S.E. Asia and the Far East. The general purpose of the BBC in all its broadcasts to listeners within the Commonwealth and in other parts of the world is to form a friendly link of news, information, culture and entertainment.

### Buddhist Temple in London

At a meeting of Ceylon Buddhists held during the month under the chairmanship of Ceylon's Minister of Commerce, Trade and Fisheries, it was announced that a Buddhist temple is to be established in London early in the New Year, with the Venerable Narada Thera in charge.

The Minister, Mr. R. G. Senanayake, said that Buddhism was the means by which Ceylon during its long history had contacted the rest of the world. The centre to be established would give an opportunity to study and discuss the tenets of the Buddha.

## London Notebook

Senator Cyril de Zoyza, a member of the board of trustees of the new centre, expressed gratification at the fulfilment of the long-cherished desire of Ceylon Buddhists to have a temple in London, and paid tribute to Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne, the former High Commissioner, and Lady Wijeyeratne for the help they had given in securing the building in which it is hoped to establish the centre. In addition to appointing a committee to draw up a constitution for the management of the centre, the meeting named the recently arrived press officer at Ceylon House, Mr. P. N. Meddegoda, as secretary.

There is also news of a new Moslem place of worship in London. For many years it has been the ambition of the trustees of the Islamic Cultural Centre, Regents Park, to build a mosque in the spacious grounds of the centre which were presented to the Islamic peoples by the British Government during the war. At the large gathering held in the Centre on November 19th to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet, there was much talk of moves which have been made during the past year to bring the dream to fruition, and since then three separate plans have been received for submission to the trustees.

### Film from Pakistan

Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, High Commissioner for Pakistan, introduced the film "Painting in Pakistan" when it was given its second screening at the Overseas League before members of the East India Association and of the Royal India and Pakistan Society, and their friends. He recalled that the film was first shown on television on Pakistan Independence Day, and spoke of his great pleasure that the second showing should be before such an influential and interested audience.

Two-thirds of the film were shot in Pakistan by Pakistani technicians. Concerned chiefly with living painters and their work, it ranges from contemporary traditionalists like Chughtai to ultra-modern Zubeida Agha, whose paintings are abstract and not representational.

The work of the East Pakistan painter, Zainul Abedin, who finds his subjects in scenes of ordinary life around him in East Bengal, both happy and sad, is most impressive. Zainul Abedin teaches painting in one of Pakistan's Schools of Art and the film shows students at work there and in other schools and colleges, where they draw and paint from life. Zainul Abedin's sensitive and flowing line is in direct descent from the art of the Mughal Court painters whose technique owed much to

the tradition of exquisite flowing calligraphy.

One-third of the film traces the growth of Mughal miniature painting, from the time when Humayun reconquered the throne of his father Babur and brought with him from Herat two famous Persian court painters. Working with indigenous Indian painters the Persian artists' style was modified, the two traditions were fused and the characteristic Mughal style was born. This section was filmed in Britain from original miniatures and manuscripts in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, under the direction of Winifred Holmes. The miniatures, never before seen on a film screen, enlarge superbly. The clarity and strength of their draughtsmanship, the fine organisation of the tiny crowded scenes of action, the lively detail, are by this means brought to a wide audience. Only the important factor of colour is missing.

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### Eastern Manuscripts

Examples of older Islamic art and a great wealth of other Asian treasures are features of the special exhibition at the British Museum which opened during the month. It is the last of the special monthly series held last year to mark the 200th anniversary of the Museum's foundation and was devoted to Eastern Civilisation. Exhibits cover a period of 2,500 years and the manuscripts, many of them, beautifully illuminated, include examples from some fifty languages. They range from Hebrew manuscripts to a copy of the gigantic Chinese encyclopedia compiled at the beginning of the 15th century.

### Chinese Ceramics

The Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, Mr. Basil Gray, is conducting a series of three lectures on Chinese ceramics in conjunction with the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art. In the first of the series he started lively discussion. In the course of his lecture on "High fired wares under the Han and Six Dynasties" he advanced the theory that there was insufficient corroborative evidence to support the rulings given by various authorities for their dating of many pieces of old Chinese porcelain as belonging to the Han period.

# ASIAN SURVEY

## INDIA

There is still an uneasy feeling in India about negotiations between Pakistan and the United States on possible military assistance. Last month a Congress-organised demonstration took place in Delhi where the general feeling was that America was trying to have a controlling hand in Asian affairs—a situation which must not be allowed to develop.

Mr. Nehru echoed the sentiment during the debate on foreign affairs in the House of the People when he said that the acceptance of United States military aid by Pakistan would lessen the chances of peace. He went on to say that Asian countries had struggled against western domination for 300 years, and he did not want to see the process reversed.

Meanwhile, committees from India and Pakistan have been meeting in Delhi to discuss the Kashmir problem and the introduction of a plebiscite administration.

## INDONESIA

The situation in west and south Atjeh was considerably easier last month and civil government was gradually being restored and the military emergency looked like coming to an end. Of the 3,000 arrested in connection with the revolt, about 1,000 have been released through lack of evidence.

The Minister of Justice said on his return to Jakarta from a visit to Celebes that about 22,000 members of armed gangs had surrendered.

## JAPAN

Discussions have been going on between three of the political parties on the question of defence and the increase in strength of the National Safety Corps, demanded by the United States as a condition of MSA aid. There have been differences of view between the Liberals, the Japan

Liberals (break-away group) and the Progressive Party on the question of expanding the armed forces. Although some agreement was reached, there were divided views on whether the constitution would have to be changed before the National Safety Corps could be expanded; whether there should be conscription; and whether Japanese troops could be used abroad. The Government party (the Liberals) insist that the constitution does not need changing as "self-defence" did not mean rearming proper.

## CHINA

The recent exchanges between Pakistan and the US have come under attack in China. The *People's Daily* said in a leading article that Asians are giving the situation their serious attention. America, says the paper, is trying to drag Pakistan into an aggressive Middle Eastern bloc as part of an aggressive chain "extending from the Middle to the Far East."

Last month the Central People's Government Council unanimously approved the economic and cultural agreement between China and the Korean People's Republic.

## PAKISTAN

Up to June this year (1954) Pakistan will receive from the United States in technical and economic assistance a maximum of £7 million (\$22 million), according to an agreement which was signed last month between the Governments of the two countries. Something like \$19 million will be used for technical services and equipment for projects already in existence and for other projects which are the subject of agreement between Pakistan and the United States.

## INDO-CHINA

Towards the end of last month Viet Minh forces under General Giap, in a surprise attack, drove at lightning speed across Laos to the Mekong River, thus cutting Indo-China in two. Laotians and the few French evacuated the town of Thakhek, on the borders of Siam, and French troops, under General Navarre, were flown into

EASTERN WORLD, JANUARY, 1954

Laos. General Giap's troops then moved south and there were some short but vicious exchanges with the French. The Viet Minh claim that Laotian forces were used in the thrust across Laos and that the people welcomed their advance.

Speculation in Saigon on the political as well as the strategic meaning of the offensive has been rife and, as was to be expected, there have been wild and unfounded rumours. It seems likely, however, that Ho Chi Minh is strengthening his strategic position to give strength and weight to his feelers for a negotiated peace.

## CEYLON

The Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, has done some straight talking to Communist China. In a speech in December he said that he had declined to welcome a Chinese trade mission to Ceylon. He said that although a trade agreement existed between the two countries, this did not mean that any sort of friendship existed with China. He said that Ceylonese Communists betrayed their country and that they got their money by marrying European women.

## MALAYA

General Templer, the High Commissioner, has had his term of office extended until June this year, after which he will leave Malaya to take up an appointment in Germany. Sir Donald MacGillivray, at present the Deputy High Commissioner, is to succeed Sir Gerald Templer.

## KOREA

President Eisenhower's action in withdrawing two American divisions from Korea, although welcomed in one sense by Asians, has given rise to fears that they have been replaced by atomic weapons. There has been no crisp reassurance from Washington that such fears are unfounded. Speculations that the withdrawal of the two divisions was completed because Syngman Rhee's ROK divisions are now able to cope with any further outbreak seem wide of the mark and are, anyway, no less reassuring.



# ECONOMIC SECTION

## Transport Development in South-East Asia

By V. Wolpert

THE Governments of South-East Asian countries recognise the importance and urgency of developing the transport systems of their countries as an integral part of their overall development plans. This is clearly shown in the Second Annual Report of the Colombo Plan,\* which contains some details concerning recent and proposed expenditure on the development of transport and the high percentage of the overall development expenditure allocated to this important sector of national economy.

### BURMA

Burma's transport facilities were seriously damaged by war and insurrection. Their rehabilitation and expansion will represent one of the largest capital programmes. The seven year development programme which is to be accomplished by 1959-60 envisages an overall investment of 7,500 million kyats (13.33 kyats equals £1), out of which 1,432 million kyats (approximately £110 million) are allotted to the development of the country's transport and telecommunication facilities (ports and waterways—453 million, railways—273 million, highways—594 million, airways—84 million, telecommunications—28 million kyats). The Report states that the rehabilitation and modernisation of rail and water transport facilities proceeded with increasing speed in 1952-53, and adds that the budget for capital expenditure allotted for the railways 51 million kyats in 1952-53, as against a revised budget of 37 million kyats expenditure in 1951-52. The bulk of the expenditure in both years was intended for the replacement of bridges, buildings, roadway, etc., but due to insurgents' activities had to be devoted to the construction and repair of rolling stock. About one-third of the 13 million kyats allocated for capital outlay by the Inland Waterways and Transport Board in 1952-53 was for advance payment on vessels ordered from abroad. The development plans of this Board call for rapid expansion of the entire flotilla, including paddle steamers, launches, tugs and barges during the next three years. In the field of coastal and international shipping the Union of Burma Shipping Board was created in January, 1952, to carry out these activities on behalf of the Government. Almost 9 million kyats were allotted to the Board to purchase existing ships and to place construction orders. The first ship, the S.S. "Pyidawtha," inaugurated coastal service between Rangoon and Akyab in February, 1953. Funds have been also allotted for the rehabilitation of the Port of Rangoon and the harbour of Akyab, as well as for dredging work in the access channel at Moulmein, while capital outlay was made abroad to expand the fleet of harbour craft. The construction of a modern air terminal is expected to be completed by June, 1955.

### CEYLON

Out of the overall development expenditure of 270.9 million rupees spent in 1951-52, 70 million rupees were spent on the development of transport and telecommunications facilities. The estimate for 1953-54 envisages an expenditure of 88 million rupees

for this sector of national economy out of a total development expenditure of 355 million rupees. The Report states that the road building programme has concentrated on improving the existing 11,000 miles of roads, including the construction of new bridges replacing the very old ones. The main work on railways in the past three years was mainly devoted to improvements, replacements and renewals. Plans are being prepared for the improvement of the Colombo Airport, while the development scheme of the Colombo Port made further progress, and one new quay has been completed.

### INDIA

The outlay under the Six-Year Development Plan (1951-57) for the public sector is estimated at Rs.26,440 million, out of which Rs.7,720 million, or 29.2 per cent., have been earmarked for transport and communications. The following table shows the increased expenditure for the development of the transport facilities of India.

	1951-2 Actual	1952-3 Revised Estimates	1953-4 Budget Estimates
Overall development expenditure			
in the Public Sector ...	2,915.2	3,525.5	4,429.6
Including Transport ...	971.5	1,157.6	1,375.3
Including Railways ...	708.5	676.0	796.1
Roads ...	144.6	232.3	275.4
Ports and Harbours ...	11.9	24.2	90.2
Inland Waterways ...	0.2	0.2	0.2
Shipping ...	15.8	12.4	44.1
Air Transport ...	20.8	24.6	39.8
Others ...	69.7	96.9	129.5

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Rawalpindi.  
**KASHMIR:** Srinagar. **BURMA:** Rangoon.



\* *The Colombo Plan.* The Second Annual Report of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and South-East Asia (HMSO, 3s. 6d.).

## PAKISTAN

The development expenditure in the public Sector (Central Government expenditure including loans to Provinces) amounted to Rs.289.4 million in 1951-2; out of this total amount Rs.49.6 million were spent on transport, while the revised estimates for 1952-3 show that out of the total expenditure of Rs.404.9 million a sum of Rs.55.1 million was allotted for the development of transport.

The estimated expenditure for 1953-4 earmarks out of the total of Rs.560.8 million an amount of Rs.68.3 million for transport and communications, including Rs.45.2 million for roads, Rs.11.4 million for air transport, Rs.4.2 million for ports and Rs.7.4 million for inland waterways. The road development plan of East Pakistan envisages the construction and improvement of 750 miles of roads to be completed over six years at a cost of Rs.75.5 million. Capacity of the Chittagong port is being raised from 5 million tons at the time of partition to 30 million tons, while the Chalna Anchorage is being developed at an expenditure of Rs.75 million. The more important plans being taken in hand for the development of the railways are estimated to cost Rs.168 million.

## INDONESIA

The 1953 Budget provides for the development expenditure (excluding local government expenditure) of 197 million rupiahs for transport facilities (including 50 million for main roads, 23.7 million for harbours, 25.6 million for shipping, and 97.5 million for air transport). In addition, the expenditure for railways and Government harbour enterprises is included in the item "Government enterprises" for which the budget earmarked 617.9 million Rs., while the overall development expenditure for 1953 has been estimated at 1,457.8 million Rs.

## THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA

The Report says that over the whole period covered by existing loan programmes the allocations for the development of transport facilities are as follows: M\$142 millions for roads, M\$110 millions for railways, and M\$ 25 millions for telecommunications.

In Singapore some M\$15.5 were estimated to have been spent by the end of 1953 out of a total estimated cost of nearly M\$38 million for the new airport at Paya Lebar, which is designed to meet all foreseeable requirements of future type aircraft. It is expected that the airport will be in use by 1955.

## BANKING IN AUSTRALIA

Legislation passed early in 1953 by the Australian Parliament brings a new name into the banking field—the Commonwealth Trading Bank of Australia.

This new bank, which commenced operations on December 3rd, has taken over the commercial banking business previously conducted by the Commonwealth Bank of Australia in its General Banking Division and the separation leaves the Commonwealth Bank to continue its other functions as Australia's central Bank. Both banks are guaranteed by the Commonwealth Government.

The Trading Bank is under the direction of the same Board and Governor as the Commonwealth Bank of Australia but has its own General Manager. Mr. A. N. Armstrong, previously Assistant Governor (Commercial Banking) of the Commonwealth Bank, has been appointed to this post and Mr. L. U. Rusden, London Manager of the Commonwealth Bank, is also the London Manager of the Commonwealth Trading Bank of Australia.

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# PLANNING IN CEYLON

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

**C**EYLON may set the pattern for a new concept of economic planning in Asia. The Government is to give up its policy of planning for a predetermined period—a concept which is very popular among many countries of the East and even of the West—using in its place a “resources plan” based on the availability of finances. The “Six Year Plan” envisaged earlier will therefore be scrapped in favour of a new “Rs.1,500 Million Plan.”

The change of policy has been accepted on the advice of Sir Sydney Caine, the Planning Expert, who came to Ceylon in August as Adviser to the Cabinet Planning Committee.

The main feature of the new system of planning is the greater emphasis placed on the availability of finances. Hitherto it has been the Government's policy to set up a rigid time limit and aim at achieving certain results within that period. More often than not these plans have miscarried, with serious economic consequences. In 1948, the Finance Minister proclaiming the present “Six Year Plan,” said that “the fruits of the fulfilment of this Plan would bring to the people increased wealth, comfort, health, security and employment and the leisure to tune the mind to the rhythm of the universe.” The six years are almost over now but instead of the promises held out by an optimistic Minister, the country today is passing through a grave financial crisis; instead of the increased wealth there is increased poverty; instead of comforts there is the added burden of new taxes, high prices and curtailed services. The “time-plan” was a failure because no one could adequately forecast the trend of prices or production over long periods; and Ceylon more than any other country in the world depends on her export income for the wealth and very existence of her people. Working to a time-limit has also resulted in unbalances between different sectors of the economy in the rush to get things finished in time.

Sir Sydney in his memorandum expresses the view that more could be achieved for the economic development of Ceylon on a long-term plan “prepared not on a predetermined period but for the expenditure of a given sum of money.” The available resources, he says, should be used “on the basis of a wise and planned scheme of priorities,” ensuring that first things come first. In other words, how long it took to achieve the objectives planned would depend on financial fortunes, thus obviating the necessity of working to a rigid time limit.

The most practical way in formulating the new long-term development programme, according to Sir Sydney, is through greater co-ordination between the Ministries, the Planning Secretariat, the Planning Committee, the proposed Development Board and the Central Bank. The Ministries and the Planning Secretariat are to discuss fully all long-term proposals and embody them in a draft programme. This programme will then be submitted to the Planning Committee for examination and approval. The approved programme is to serve as a basis of guidance for the Planning Secretariat and the Ministries. The Development Board to be established shortly will undertake the execution of this programme.

It has been suggested that the draft programme should be submitted to the Planning Committee by November each year to enable the Cabinet to take a decision on it. Financial provision for any approved proposals could then be made in the following year's budget.

Sir Sydney warns that Ceylon's resources are “painfully limited,” and only the “wise and planned use” of what is available may help the Island out of her present predicament. A decline in the general standards of living is what awaits the country if the whole economy is not recognised on a scheme to ensure “first things first.”



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Among the petitioners for the grant of a Royal Charter were James Wilson, M.P., who in 1843 had founded the *Economist* and was later to join Lord Aberdeen's administration as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and Robert Lowe, M.P., who became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Gladstone in 1868.

The Bank was chartered to transact business in India, China, the Eastern Archipelago and Australia, but the project to open branches in Australia was given up from the beginning and throughout its history the Bank has remained a purely eastern institution.

The first branches were opened nearly a hundred years ago in Calcutta and Bombay and soon afterwards others were established in Shanghai, Singapore and Hong Kong. During the ensuing century the branch system has been extended to serve most centres of commercial importance in the territories between the Arabian Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

The Bank has been actively associated with development of the mining and plantation industries in the East and it has served the merchant communities everywhere. The development of Malaya was assisted to an important extent by the establishment of a network of up-country branches.

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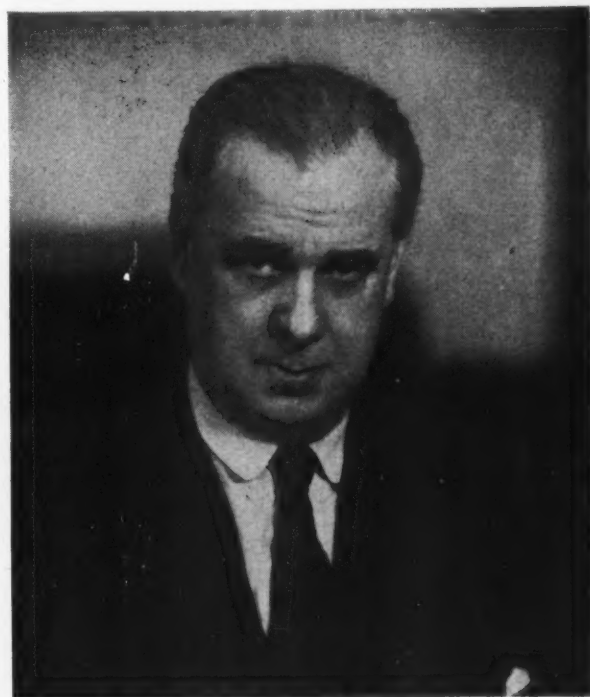
the last three decades of the nineteenth century, which gravely dislocated the currencies of Asian countries, exposed the British banks in the East to many hazards and difficulties. The silver crisis overwhelmed several of the Chartered Bank's most powerful competitors and revolutionised the financing of the eastern trade.

The pattern of the Bank's branch system as it now exists was settled in most essential respects by 1914. Before the outbreak of the first world war branches had been opened at the more important seaports along the great maritime trade route which extends from the west coast of India, round Ceylon to the Straits of Malacca and through the China Sea to Shanghai and the ports of Japan. The Bank had also opened branches in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, the Philippine Islands and Indonesia, and, between the wars, extended its representation in India and to Kuching in Sarawak.

The contraction of world trade culminating in Britain's abandonment of the gold standard in 1931 was a severe test for all the British oversea banks, but by 1939 the Chartered Bank was in a strong position to endure the stress of a second world war within a quarter of a century.

During the tragic months which followed the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, two-thirds of the Bank's branches were submerged by the tide of Japanese military success and between 1941 and 1945 seventeen British officers on the eastern establishment died in battle or in captivity.

During the latter years of the war the Head Office in London organised the staffing and re-equipping of the branches under Japanese occupation that would be necessitated by the liberation of the eastern lands. The surrender of the Japanese which avoided the waging of a long war of reconquest simplified to some extent the rehabilitation of British commerce, industry and finance in South-East Asia and the Far East but the reopening

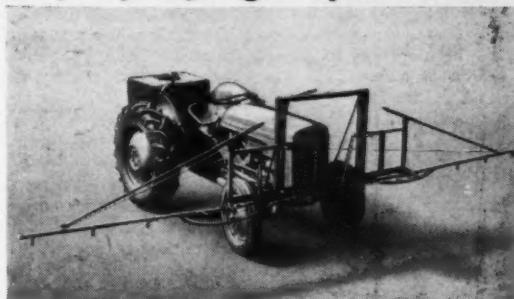


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of the Bank's branches was not accomplished without difficulty. Before normal business could be resumed the Bank was compelled to reorientate its administrative policy to new operational conditions resulting from radical political changes. In a statement to the stockholders on the progress made by the Bank during 1951 the Chairman, Mr. V. A. Grantham, observed:—

"Never have there been in so short a time such extensive transfers of sovereignty. A revolution on so gigantic a scale might have been expected to extinguish institutions more firmly established than the branch organisation of a commercial bank controlled and directed from Western Europe, but it is remarkable that notwithstanding the almost cataclysmic changes which have occurred in the social, political and economic structures of nearly all the Asian lands engaged in international commerce, the Chartered Bank has preserved its system of branches almost intact."

When reviewing the affairs of the Bank a year later Mr. Grantham said:

"In the course of our researches into the history of the Bank it has been borne in upon us that the most significant exports from Britain to the East have been not textile or machinery but liberal ideas. These wholly invisible exports have fructified in a way few could foresee, and they have made possible those extensive but orderly transfers of sovereignty to which I referred in my last statement. It is remarkable that the Chartered Bank, founded as it was when the British Empire, sustained by an unchallenged sea power, was approaching the height of its power and its glory, should find in these changed days more opportunities than ever before of fulfilling the constructive and pacific aims of its founders."

Since the end of the second world war branches have been opened in North Borneo and with the exception of China, from which representation is being withdrawn, every country of economic consequence in South Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East is now served by the Bank.

## PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRIES OF THE EAST

**T**HE recently signed agreement between the Burmese Government and Evans Medical Supplies, Liverpool, is a further important step in the development of pharmaceutical industries in South-East Asian countries. The building up of these indigenous industries changes the pattern of the export business of those highly industrialised countries which in the past supplied the bulk requirements of the Asian market, and a number of progressive firms of the West have adjusted their policies accordingly.

Sir Harry Jephcott, Chairman of Glaxo Laboratories, in his address to the recent Annual General Meeting of his Company, said that:

"So long as the prices of primary produce remained high many countries, and especially those with accumulated sterling balances, were very willing to make good the acute shortage of medicines and other consumer goods, characteristic of the immediate post-war years, by importing products packed ready for sale. That phase, which was extended by the war in Korea, has passed. There is now a widespread resurgence of the desire for local production and a reluctance to pay for goods and services that can, or might be, provided within the market. In some countries this tendency extends to the encouragement of manufactures even though, from their nature or magnitude, they cannot be economically conducted. In short, the pattern of export business is changing, and in many instances our future exports will need to be in the form of bulk products for local pharmaceutical processing and packing.

We recognise the inevitability of this tendency; consequently, if our goodwill and the demand for the company's products, assets built up over a long period of years at great effort and expense, are to be preserved, we must be prepared to undertake overseas as much of our manufacturing as can be conducted with reasonable efficiency and is otherwise practicable."

Taking into account this development, Glaxo have already established manufacturing facilities in several countries, including India, New Zealand and Australia (the Company's factory at Fort Fairy is to be extended considerably), while similar manufacturing facilities are now being provided in Pakistan, where in conformity with Government policy 30% of the additional capital required was subscribed locally.

The agreement between the Burmese Government and the Liverpool firm of Evans which was negotiated and signed during the visit to England by U Tin Pe, the Secretary to the Ministry of National Planning, is an important achievement in the development of Burmese national economy, and results from the Burmese Government's policy of ensuring that necessary medical supplies are available for the whole Burmese people and of safeguarding Burma against any vital shortage in time of war or emergency.

Under the agreement Evans Medical covenant to do the following things:

1. To provide the Burmese Government with scientific "know how" to facilitate the manufacture of a large range of medical products.
2. To advise on the selection of suitable architects and con-

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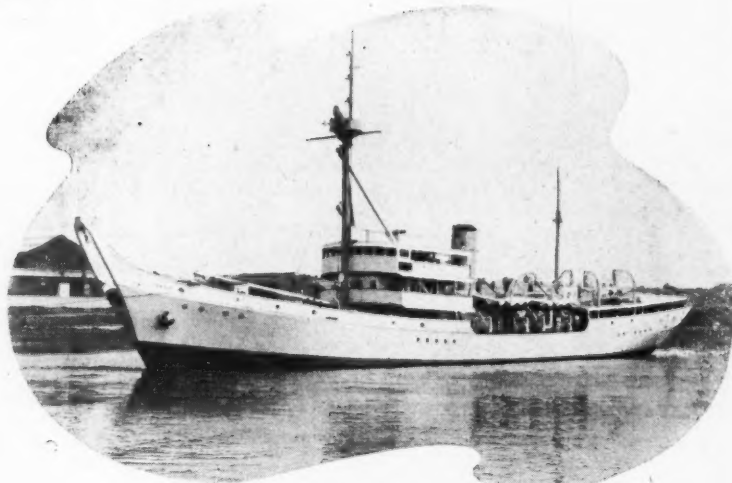
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sulting engineers and on the design and lay-out of a new factory on a large site which the Government has acquired near Rangoon.

3. To act as purchasing agent for all the plant and equipment required.
4. To provide the necessary skilled technical staff to supervise operations until such time as Burmese nationals have been selected and trained in the United Kingdom and in Burma to take over the management and control of the factory.
5. To manage the said factory for an initial period of seven years.

Over the initial seven years it is estimated that the value of the agreement to the United Kingdom, allowing for the remuneration of British technical and supervisory staff, professional fees Evans Medical's charges, British machinery and raw materials, etc., will amount to several million pounds. The agreement has been successfully negotiated under conditions of keen competition from continental pharmaceutical manufacturers and has the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

In addition, the following points are of importance:

The British export trade has been safeguarded by ensuring that Burma will not export pharmaceuticals to any other countries. There will be a stream of Burmese coming to this country to be trained in the universities and in industry to staff this factory. Evans' management fees are payable out of block sterling balances held in London and it is expected that the factory including plans and equipment will cost over £1 million. The products to be made in the factory will be antitoxins, sera and vaccines for human and veterinary use, sterile solutions for injection and for transfusion purposes, alcohol, medicinal yeasts and galenicals.

Evans Medical will be the buying agents for all raw materials in the factory. It is hoped that most purchases will be made in the UK but as agents Evans will have to buy from the best source.



The Indonesian Government has ordered fourteen Herons from the De Havilland Aircraft Co. in Britain. The Heron is a four-engined light transport plane, capable of operating from the smallest aerodromes. They carry 10 passengers plus freight or, alternatively, 14 passengers. To date eight of these aircraft have been delivered, and complete delivery is expected early this year. Eventually the 3,000-mile long group of islands will depend entirely upon the Heron for its scheduled domestic air services. Picture shows the Indonesian Ambassador to Britain and some of his staff inspecting the first Herons for Garuda Indonesian Airways with Mr. P. P. Hearle of De Havillands

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Co.

88, Hill Park Rd., Fareham  
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Cables: KEYSTONE. FAREHAM

A number of Evans' staff will be going out to run the factory for the time being. The site of the factory is near Rangoon.

In connection with the export of pharmaceutical goods to Asia, it is interesting that first Japan and then the United Kingdom lifted the ban on exports of certain types of antibiotics to China, and your correspondent understands that some contracts have already been signed with China.

### THE DISTILLERS COMPANY LTD.

Torpichen St., Edinburgh, Scotland

Cables: "Distillers, Edinburgh"

Manufacturers of Yeast for Baking  
and Medicinal Purposes

### BURMESE ORDERS FOR U.K. INDUSTRY

**F**OLLOWING the publication of reports placed recently by the Burma Government Purchasing Commission with UK industry (see September and November issues of EASTERN WORLD), we understand that among British firms which secured orders from the Burmese Government were:

ICI, London. Two sets of degreasing equipment and accessories of the electrically heated V.4 type, which were despatched from Liverpool to Rangoon at the beginning of November.

Steels Engineering Products Ltd., Sunderland. Three Coles self-propelled Diesel Electric Cranes. A quantity of spares were also ordered, which, together with the cranes, total £17,000.

The Municipal Appliances Co. Ltd., Preston. Six five-ton "Ostrich" Gritters. These machines are now completed and awaiting shipping instructions. Approximate value of the consignment is £2,280. This firm has a further order for boilers which has already been despatched, the approximate value of this contract being £3,100.

The Austin Motor Company Ltd., Birmingham. Six diesel-engined vehicles, 1,000 gallon Eagle Oil Tankers on Austin five-ton LWB chassis, and 25 cwt. three-way van. Approximate value £11,000.

Platt Bros. (Sales) Ltd., Oldham. Sixteen double action gins (latest model) with patent method of adjusting the knife "overlap," and one 15-ton fixed box press.

The Selson Machine Tool Co. Ltd., London. Two 6½ ins. Vee Bed Gap Lathes. Total value of these two lathes is approximately £600.

Beacon Machine Tools Ltd., Tipton. Two Double Ended Motor Grinders.

B. Draper & Son, Kingston-on-Thames. Two hydraulic jacks.

## OIL SEARCH BY HELICOPTERS IN WESTERN NEW GUINEA

**H**ELICOPTERS have played and are playing a leading part in an extensive search for oil that is being carried out amid the dense tropical jungles of Netherlands (Western) New Guinea. Easily manoeuvrable and able to operate from small quickly made landing grounds, they have fully proved their worth as key vehicles for lifting both men and materials under extremely difficult conditions.

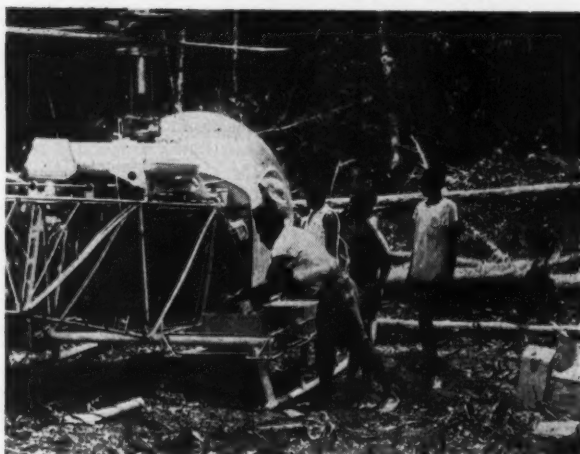
The Nederlandsche Nieuw-Guinee Petroleum Maatschappij (NNGPM), in which Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij is a principal partner, has held a 38,000 square mile concession in the extreme north-west of the island since the 'thirties.

A small but steady annual production of about 250,000 tons



*Air view of a base camp beside one of the many rivers in Netherlands New Guinea. The arrow points to a helicopter and its jungle-built "hangar." (Shell)*

of crude oil is now being shipped from the port and newly created industrial centre of Sorong which is situated on the north-west coast of the island. Exploration work to find new oilfields is being undertaken on a large scale. But their discovery,



*In a jungle landing-ground one of the Bell 47D helicopters, with its rotors still turning, is being unloaded by Papuans. (Shell)*

involving the movement and maintenance from base camp to site (sometimes a distance of 8 miles) of technical parties, numbering anything up to 300 men and 50 tons of equipment and food, in thick, swampy jungle and incessant rain, proved an almost insuperable problem. Three single-engined two-seater Bell 47Ds, which, if necessary, can land in a pace of cleared jungle measuring as little as 3 or 4 yards square, solved the difficulty.

Despite their small size and limited payload, an astonishing record has been achieved with these helicopters (one of which is always held in reserve): over six months, the average monthly load (including personnel, accounting for 19½ tons) was over 78 tons—yet each machine carries a maximum payload of only 3 cwt. Over a similar monthly period, average figures show that during 50 machine days they made a total of 974 separate flights aggregating 183 flying hours and covering a distance of 5,600 miles.

The great speed at which work can progress by use of this form of transport offsets in large measure its higher cost. For example, many cases are on record of urgent spares, etc., being flown in within a matter of minutes, and there is also a small saving in manpower.

There is no doubt that helicopters will be used more and more in oil production in out-of-the-way places where normal means of transport either on the surface or in the air are precluded by virtue of difficult terrain such as jungle swamp or soft sand dunes.

**THE  
BANK  
LINE**

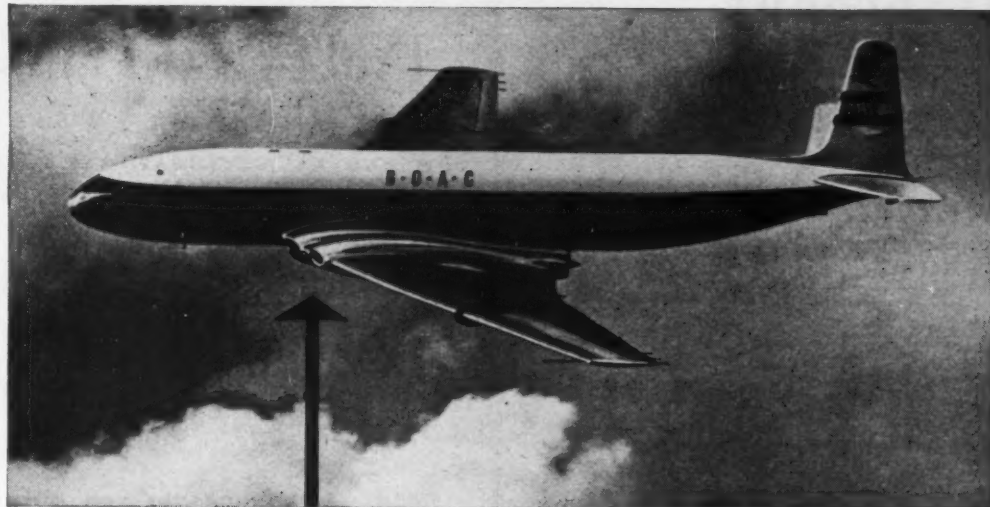
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## THINGS WORTH DOING



**S**peeding  
the  
Comet

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On the ground, no less than in the air—for Shell supply turbine fuel as well as numerous Shell and AeroShell lubricants for the Comet—Shell are speeding the world's first jet airliners.



*hand in hand*

*with progress —*



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## CHAGAS DISEASE

*I*N large areas of South America, up to half of the population suffer from the effects of Chagas disease—an illness that causes acute debility, fever, and often idiocy, paralysis and death. There is no known cure for Chagas disease, and, until recently, there was no effective method of preventing its spread, for the large, bloodsucking bugs that carry it are immune to most insecticides. In 1948 I.C.I. undertook experimental work in the control of the Chagas disease carrier when a technical service man from I.C.I. General Chemicals Division visited South America in connection with the use of "Gammexane"

insecticides. Laboratory tests carried out in Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay gave such promising results that a full scale field-trial was arranged. This took place at an up-country village in Uruguay where the interior of every infested building was sprayed with a "Gammexane" preparation. The trial was an outstanding success. A single application of this powerful insecticide wiped out the entire bug population of the village. As a result of this technical service work by I.C.I., campaigns to eliminate Chagas disease are now being undertaken in a number of South American republics.



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